JOHN OF GARLAND'S *DE TRIUMPHIS ECCLESIE*

STUDIA ARTISTARUM
ÉTUDES SUR LA FACULTÉ DES ARTS DANS LES UNIVERSITÉS MÉDIÉVALES

44

Directeurs honoraires
Louis Holtz
Olga Weijers

Sous la direction de
Luca Bianchi (Università degli Studi di Milano)
Dominique Poirel (Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes)

Secrétaire de rédaction
Emmanuelle Kuhry (Paris)

Comité de rédaction
Henk Braakhuis (Nijmegen)
Charles Burnett (London)
Dragos Calma (Dublin)
Anne Grondeux (Paris)
Jean-Pierre Rothschild (Paris)
Cecilia Trifogli (Oxford)

John of Garland's *De triumphis Ecclesie*

A new critical edition with introduction and translation

Edited and translated by
MARTIN HALL

BREPOLS

© 2019, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2019/0095/152
ISBN 978-2-503-58511-6
eISBN 978-2-503-58512-3
DOI 10.1484/M.SA-EB.5.117672
ISSN 2032-1252
eISSN 2294-8376

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper.

Contents

Acknowledgments 9

List of Illustrations 11

List of Abbreviations 13

Introduction

Foreword 17

Chapter 1. Life and Works of John of Garland 19
Biography 19
John of Garland's oeuvre 26

Chapter 2. The Manuscript Tradition and Previous Scholarship 31
MS British Library Cotton Claudius A x 31
Thomas Wright's edition of 1856 and nineteenth century reactions 33
Louis J. Paetow 34
More recent scholarship 34

Chapter 3. *De triumphis Ecclesie* 37
Summary of poem 37
Date of composition 39
An unfinished work 40
John's audience 43

Chapter 4. Literary Influences and Sources 45
The medieval epic tradition 45
An elegiac epic 46
John's literary sources 47
History and rhetoric 49
Matthew Paris 52
De triumphis Ecclesie as literature 54

Chapter 5. John's Teaching and Preaching 57
Studia generalia and the medieval curriculum 57
The *studium* at Toulouse 58
Tall tales on the Garonne 61

Chapter 6. *'Arma crucemque cano':* Church and Crusade 63
De triumphis Ecclesie as a devotional work 63
Pope, cardinals, bishops and priests 63
John's use of *exempla* 65
War, peace and crusade: John as a critic of Western priorities 66
De triumphis as an *excitatio* 67

Chapter 7. The Main Political Sub-Plots 69
England and France 69
Papacy and empire 75

Chapter 8. Countering the 'Other': Heretics, Mongols, Jews and Muslims 79
The Albigensian Crusade (1208–29) 79
Heretics 82
The Mongol invasions (1241–42) 83
Jews 85
Muslims 86

Chapter 9. The Seventh Crusade (1248–54) 87
Preparations 87
The Crusade 88
Hopes for the future 89

Chapter 10. Conclusions 91
A rallying cry 91
A contemporary view of the period 92
A major source on the Toulouse *studium* 92
An intellectual tour de force 93
An intensely personal statement 93

Critical Edition

Guide to the text 97

Preface 98

Prologue 104

Book 1 114

Book 2 140

Book 3 194

Book 4 236

Book 5 268

Book 6 298

Book 7 322

Book 8 354

Bibliography 393

Index 409

Acknowledgments

Editing and translating *De triumphis Ecclesie* have needed many disciplines. Whatever the editor's academic starting point, he or she inevitably needs the help of specialists in many fields. I am deeply grateful to the many who have responded to my requests.

The first aim in producing a new edition is to determine what the author wrote or intended to write, and the second is to understand what he meant. Here, exceptional thanks are due to Elsa Marguin-Hamon, who generously offered to review both text and translation. I am also hugely grateful to Susan Edgington who has helped me through many a Latin dilemma. Gregory Hays has generously shared his work on Wright's text and supplied me with several additional classical references. Tessa Webber and Julian Harrison gave me clear guidance on the manuscript, Laura Cleaver and Paul Binski on its images. I am indebted in varying degrees on points of detail to Marianne Ailes, Stephen Bennett, John Clarke, Rita Copeland, Sean Curran, Charalambos Dendrinos, Peter Denley, the Essex and Hampshire Record Offices, David Gwyn, Jonathan Harris, Peregrine Hordern, Mike Horswell, Kurt Villads Jensen, Richard Leson, Sean McGlynn, Matthew Strickland, James Titterton, Larissa Tracy, Lucas Villegas-Aristizabal, Faith Wallis, Rob Wegman, Ian Wei and Ian Wilson. Thank you also to the British Library for agreeing to my use of images from MS London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A x, and to the Parker Library for permission to use an image from MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 16.

I am grateful to Jonathan Phillips, who presciently drew my attention to Louis Paetow's plea for a modern edition of *De triumphis Ecclesie*, and whose supervision has opened many doors and guided my doctorate work. Thanks too for their input to the examiners of my doctoral thesis, Andrew Jotischky and Carol Sweetenham. And much gratitude to my publishers, especially to Alexander Sterkens, for finding a way to produce a Latin/English page by page text, and also to Marina Donikian.

Finally, thank you to my wife Anne, who has lived for seven years with John of Garland. Apart from providing support and encouragement, she has proved expert at spotting gaps in the argument, proofreading the text, and indexing.

Illustrations

	Unless otherwise specified, illustrations are from MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, and are © British Library	Page
Plate 1	*Incipit* to *De triumphis Ecclesie*.	96
Plate 2	Signs of the Zodiac: *DTE*, 1.157–60.	123
Plate 3	Blanche of Castile, Virgin and Child: *DTE*, 1.193.	127
Plate 4	Herleva's dream: *DTE*, 2.121–22.	149
Plate 5	Geographical zones and the Zodiac: *DTE*, 2.165–66.	151
Plate 6	Map of France: *DTE*, 2.663–66.	179
Plate 7	'Tree of knowledge': *DTE*, 6.33–56.	301
Plate 8	MS Cambridge Corpus Christi College 16, Mongols cooking men on spits: *DTE*, 7.25–26.	325
Plate 9	Sword, lion, sea and hyena: *DTE*, 7.339–40.	343
Plate 10	Colophon transcribed into Greek letters.	391

Abbreviations

Works of John of Garland

AL	*Ars lectoria Ecclesie*, ed. & trans. (French), E. Marguin-Hamon, 'L'*Ars lectoria Ecclesie* de Jean de Garlande: une grammaire versifiée du XIII^{me} siècle et ses gloses' (Turnhout, 2004).
CC	*Clavis Compendii*, ed. & trans. (French) E. Marguin-Hamon, 'Le *Clavis Compendii* de Jean de Garlande: édition critique, traduite et commentée' (Turnhout, 2008).
CG	*Compendium Gramatice*, ed. T. Haye, 'Johannes de Garlandia, *Compendium Gramatice,* Auf der Grundlage aller bekannten Handschriften erstmals herausgegeben und eingekeitet' (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 1995).
CME	*Carmen de misteriis Ecclesie*, ed. & trans. (German) E. Könsgen, with commentary by P. Dinter, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte,* 32 (2004).
DTE	*De triumphis Ecclesie*, ed. M. A. Hall in this volume.
EBVM	*Epithalamium Beate Virginis Marie*, ed. & trans. (Italian) A. Saiani, '*Epithalamium Beate Virginis Marie*, Giovanni di Garlandia: testo critico, traduzione e commento' (Florence, 1995).
Exempla	*Exempla honestae vitae*, ed. E. Habel, 'Die *Exempla honestae vitae* des Johannes de Garlandia, eine lateinische Poetik des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Romanische Forschungen*, 29 (1910), 131–54.
MS	*Morale Scolarium*, ed. & trans. L. Paetow, "Two medieval satires on the University of Paris, 'La bataille des VII arts' of Henri d'Andeli and the '*Morale scolarium*' of John of Garland" (Berkeley, 1927).
PP	*Parisiana Poetria*, ed. & trans. T. Lawler, 'The *Parisiana poetria* of John of Garland' (New Haven, 1974).
Stella	*Stella Maris*, ed. E. F. Wilson, 'The *Stella Maris* of John of Garland' (Cambridge, Mass., 1946).

Other works

CM	Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. Luard, 7 vols (London, Rolls Series 57, 1872–83).
CUP	Denifle, H. & Chatelain, E., eds. (1891–99), *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols, (Paris, 1891–99, reprinted Brussels, 1964).
Duchesne	Duchesne, A., *Francorum scriptores ab ipsius gentis origine,* 5 vols (Paris, 1636–49).
IPGRR	Anonymous, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi,* ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I,* 2 vols, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi, auctore, ut videtur, Ricardo canonico Sanctae Trinitatis Londiniensis* (London, Rolls Series 38, vol. 1, 1864).
JdeM	Jean de Mailly, *Abbreviatio in Gestis et Miraculis Sanctorum,* ed. G. P. Maggioni (Florence, 2013).
MGHS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, vols. 39, eds. G. H. Pertz et al. (Hanover, etc., 1826–2009).
PL	Migne, J-P., *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina,* 221 vols (Paris 1844–64).
Ps-T	Pseudo-Turpin, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, ed. C. Meredith-Jones (Paris, 1936).
PVC	Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *Sarnaii monachi Hystoria albigensis*, ed. P. Guébin & E. Lyon, 3 vols (Paris, 1926–39), trans. W. Sibly & M. Sibly, *The history of the Albigensian Crusade: Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's 'Historia Albigensis'* (Woodbridge, 2003).
RH	Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols.(London, Rolls Series 51, 1868–71).
WP	William of Puylaurens, *Chronica*, ed. & trans. (French) J. Duvernoy, *Guillaume de Puylaurens: Chronique* (*Chronica magistri Gullielmi de Podio Laurentii*) (Paris, 1976).

Introduction

Foreword

Louis Paetow[1] said in 1923 that, 'From the viewpoint of modern scholarship this [*De triumphis Ecclesie*] is the most important and most interesting of the works of John of Garland.'[2] But, 'Before the poem can be fully utilised for historical purposes it must be re-edited with an abundance of linguistic, literary and historical notes. This can probably best be done after we have critical editions of all the inedited works of John of Garland.'[3] This edition and translation attempt this task, now that Paetow's condition is largely satisfied.

They are based on scrutiny of the only surviving manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A x. I have substantially revised Thomas Wright's text of 1856, and provided extensive notes to explain textual changes, elucidate points of grammar, language and style, identify the poem's diverse sources, and contextualise its contents. I hope with this revised text to prompt academic reappraisal of John's semi-autobiographical account of the years 1189–1252, and make it readily accessible as source material to medievalists of many disciplines.

I have also prepared a translation, the first in any language, and a full bibliography. These materials are complementary, and in some specialised areas follow-up through secondary reading is suggested.

A new text does not of itself bring to life a deliberately difficult poem. I have surveyed existing scholarship and read many texts by John and other medieval authors. On the basis of this I advance new theories on his life and works, and in particular demonstrate a connection with his close contemporary, Matthew Paris. This introduction seeks to place *De triumphis Ecclesie* in the context of John's life and cultural constraints, as well as of historical events. He was hard-working, learned, devout, and unusually outspoken, but also a man of his times. I analyse John's perspective (as an Englishman in France) on the Crusades, especially the agonising Seventh, and on the two fault-lines of Western Christendom, Anglo-French relations and the split between papacy and empire. The Introduction also questions some of the few apparently sound assumptions which underlie previous scholarship.

For me, *De triumphis Ecclesie* has exercised a powerful fascination since Jonathan Phillips suggested in 2009 that I base my MA dissertation on Paetow's 1928 article about this poem.[4] It quickly became clear, however, that a new edition and a translation

---

1 See 29–30 below.

2 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 110.

3 Paetow (1928), 209.

4 Paetow (1928). The MA dissertation was based on a reading only of crusade narrative elements of the poem. It was the basis for an article, 'An Academic Call to Arms in 1252: John of Garland's Crusading Epic *De triumphis Ecclesiae*,' *Crusades*, 12 (2013), 153–74.

were needed if the poem was ever to be recognised as a remarkable contemporary testament. It is also a quarry of information on much else, especially the beginnings of the Universities of Toulouse and Paris. My particular academic combination of classics and Crusades history, reinforced by a love of the Languedoc, Oxford and Paris felt like a good starting point for what has nevertheless proved a severe challenge.

CHAPTER 1

Life and Works of John of Garland

Biography

John of Garland was an English cleric with a prodigious output in Latin prose and verse. He became well-known[1] in the Paris Schools as a didactic writer on grammar and rhetoric during his lifetime, in the first half of the thirteenth century. His grammatical texts were still in use in Tudor times.[2] He made major contributions to the development of rhetoric. It is also possible that he was responsible for important steps in the evolution of music.[3]

Much of what we know about John's life has been well-documented by earlier scholars. Modern editors of John's other works[4] have largely accepted Paetow's views as definitive. Most of the autobiographical facts we have derive from *De triumphis Ecclesie* itself, though clues are scattered throughout John's works.

Paetow admirably explains the confusion about John of Garland's identity, which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. From the beginning of the fifteenth[5] through Boston of Bury to the mid-eighteenth century, John was believed to be an Englishman who flourished *c.* 1040. In 1747 Dom Rivet, author of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, asserted that he was a Frenchman who lived *c.* 1000–1081, and crossed to England with William the Conqueror.[6] Meanwhile across the Channel in 1748, Thomas Tanner firmly identified an English John of Garland as a significant author of the first half of the thirteenth century; but he also concluded that this was a different John of Garland from Boston of Bury's,[7] listed separately by Tanner as 'Johannes Grammaticus'. It was the mid-nineteenth century before MS Cotton Claudius A x was 'discovered,' and Thomas Wright and Victor Le Clerc resolved the matter. As John himself made clear:

---

1 For John's celebrity, see Roger Bacon, *Compendium studii philosophiae*, ed. J. Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, 3 vols (London, 1859), vol. 3, 453. For the popularity of his works as textbooks see T. Hunt (1991), vol. 1, 191–231 & 395–99, and vol. 2, 125–75, detailing extensive vernacular glosses on manuscripts of John's didactic works. For John's highly-placed contacts, see 25-26 below.

2 This is apparent from the wealth of printed editions from the end of the fifteenth century.

3 On rhetoric, see Copeland & Sluiter (2009), 639–56; for music, see 23 and nn. 81–84 below.

4 See Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 82–96, and, for example, Saiani, *EBVM*, Intro., 9–13; Marguin-Hamon, *CC*, Intro., v–vi; Lawler (2004), xi–xii.

5 Tanner (1748), xxxiii, 309–10 & 434.

6 Rivet (1747), 83–98.

7 Tanner (1748), xxxiii.

Anglia cui mater fuerat, cui Gallia nutrix,
Matri nutricem prefero marte meam.[8]

Since then there has been a broad academic consensus that John was born in England around 1190–95, coalescing around 1195. The approximate date is tenuously based on John's statement that he was a young man ('*iuvenis*,' i.e. at least fifteen years old[9]) studying under John of London[10] '*hoc in tempore*.' This reference point in time is King John's submission to papal authority in 1213, the event both preceding and following this autobiographical digression, which places John's birth no later than 1198–99.

In fact close examination of this text and of John's other works does not even allow us to be certain that John studied at Oxford at all, or that his teacher was incontrovertibly from London. John writes:

'*Effectus laïcus fuit hoc in tempore doctor*
Oxonie; viguit sensibus ipse tamen,
Omni litterula privatus scivit; et ivit
Ut laïcus, sero vir Plato, mane rudis.
Hic de Londoniis fuerat, dictusque Iohannes,
Philosophos iuveni legerat ante mihi.'[11]

This means, 'At this time as a layman he was made a doctor at Oxford; despite (*tamen*) being a layman he was intellectually full of energy. He had understanding, though deprived of any literary education; he went [there] as a layman, a man who was unsophisticated at the dawn of his life, a Plato in its twilight. He had been in London,[12] and was known as John. He had lectured on the philosophers to me before when I was a young man.'

Regarding John of Garland, therefore, we can conclude nothing beyond the fact that he was a 'young man' some time before 1213 or thereabouts, and that as such he had been taught philosophy by Johannes de Londoniis, perhaps still a Master, before he became a Doctor at Oxford. There is no other contemporary evidence linking John of Garland with Oxford, though it has been reasonably assumed on this evidence and the assertions of the early bibliographers[13] that the lectures on natural science that

---

8 *DTE*, 3.405–06, 'To whom England was mother and France nurse; I prefer my nurse to my mother in matters of war.' John also names his country of birth in *Exempla*, 94, see n. 21 below.

9 Earlier authorities and canon law agreed that '*pueritia*'/ boyhood ends at fourteen. Augustine and Isidore stipulate that a man becomes *iuvenis* only after *adolescentia*, when he reaches twenty-nine. But by John's time both poetic and philosophical convention considered *iuventus* to last from boyhood to the onset of old age from the late forties onwards. See De Ghellinck (1948) for a thorough study of medieval terminology regarding age.

10 *DTE*, 3.223. For 'John of London', see Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 83–84 and n. 20.

11 *DTE*, 3.223–28.

12 The MS reads '*delondoniis.*' This is invariably rendered as 'of, or from, London'. It is however worth remembering that there was also a Norman aristocratic family *De Londoniis*, named from Lundin in Fife, recent ancestors of the Fitzalans of Arundel. The city of London was spelt variously, usually '*Londinium*,' but often '*Londonie*' (plural).

13 E.g. Tanner (1748), 434, in relation to Johannes Grammaticus.

John describes were delivered there. *De triumphis* certainly reflects John's continuing interest in science, notably in astronomy, weather and the sea.[14] Elsewhere in the poem he shows familiarity with medical language, of which he probably acquired a knowledge at Paris or Toulouse.[15]

So the name 'Johannes de Londoniis' offers little help in clarifying details of John of Garland's youth. An even more shadowy figure than John of Garland himself, he was identified (Jo. London.) by Roger Bacon as one of the two true '*perfecti*' mathematicians of his age.[16] He is demonstrably not the same John of London who, confusingly, was an able pupil of Bacon, active in the 1260s; he has also been variously identified with John of Basingstoke, John Peckham, and with the donor of some eighty books to the Library of St Augustine's, Canterbury.[17] Nicholas Vincent however writes 'he [John of London] can now be identifed with some confidence as [Peter, bishop of Winchester] des Roches' familiar, bishop's official *c.* 1206–12, master of St Cross, Winchester and canon of St.Paul's.'[18]

Vincent noted an entry in the bishop of Winchester's pipe roll for 1212 recording '*Mag[ist]ri Joh. de Garland*' as guest of Peter des Roches, at the manor of Knoyle.[19] The bishop's guest was already called *Magister* by 1212, and would therefore not normally have started his 'university' education later than 1206, to allow for the usual six years needed to qualify as a teacher.[20]

He was also called '*de Garland*' in the Winchester roll. If we are to take John himself at face value, he must therefore already have moved to Paris, since by his own testimony his name, variously spelt in manuscripts and early sources, derived from the location of his residence there.

> '*Anglia, processi de te, cui cesserat orbis*
> *Angulus; accessi Parisiusque fui.*
> *Parisius vici cum sit Garlandia nomen,*
> *Agnomen florens contulit illa mihi.*'[21]

Here the consensus view on the meaning is clearly right. John says he derived his toponym or surname from the Clos de Garlande, a recently developed green area of Paris which had belonged to the Garlande family, originally from Brie. The present-day Rue de Galande, in the old university area, perpetuates the name.

If the single reference in the Winchester pipe roll is to the same John of Garland we can therefore conclude that he was probably at least twenty years old in 1212, assuming that he was unlikely to have been a student in Paris (or, for that matter, Oxford) before the age of fourteen. This is entirely consistent with his having been a

---

14 *DTE*, 5.101–40, 1.145–82, 2.263–71 & 293–434.
15 *DTE*, 3.669–72, 5.160, 7.345–48, 8.396.
16 *Opus tertium*, in Brewer ed., *Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, vol. 1, 34.
17 James (1903), lxxiv–lxxvii.
18 Vincent (1996), 83–84.
19 Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, MS 11M59/B1/3/7.
20 Even this is conjecture, since '*Magister*' could be used as a courtesy title.
21 *PP*, 6.184–87, *Exempla*, 94–97.

'young man' before 1213. We certainly cannot rule out that John had moved to Paris as early as 1209 and obtained his Master's degree there after many scholars left Oxford following serious disturbances.[22]

John tells us that he was not high-born (so not a member of the Garlande family), but had found a niche in more well-to-do circles:

> '*Est inter magnos modicis locus, et mihi magnus*
> *Cedat eques: propero longius ire pedes.*'[23]

In *Morale Scolarium,* John claims his just deserts as a priest, despite his lack of royal or high clerical connections*:*

> '*Non sum regalis sanguis, non pontificalis,*
> *Vendico set talis heres bona spiritualis.*'[24]

I have however a new proposal for John's birthplace. In *Clavis Compendii,* 967, he tells us '*Gingia dumosa genuit me*'/ 'Wooded Gingia gave me birth.' This was first noticed by Saiani,[25] who identified the place as probably Gingia in Berkshire, listed in the Domesday Book as 'East Ginge' and 'West Ginge.' Subsequent scholars have agreed. There is however a persuasive alternative. '*Ginga*', or Margaretting/Mountnessing/ Ingatestone in Essex, also appears in the Domesday Book. Both are mentioned in the Red Book of the Exchequer.[26] *DTE,* 1.179–80, praising Luke of Essex, may imply that John was born in Essex, and John singles out the bowmen of Essex elsewhere (3.501) for no obvious reason.

Furthermore, *Epithalamium,* 10.185–88 reads as follows:

> '*Me tibi Plasseti viderunt confraga densi*
> *Primitias studii composuisse mei;*
> *Sed modo Parisius studiosa fractus in urbe*
> *Ad te [Virginem] suspiro, quam paradisus habet.*'[27]

Saiani quotes the gloss on '*Plasseti*' from the version of *Epithalamium* which precedes *De triumphis* in MS Cotton Claudius A x, '*proprium nomen ville*' and a gloss from another manuscript, '*confraga*'/ 'thicket.' He argues in the introduction to his edition that *plassetum* refers to the wooded state of John's early home in the Clos

---

22 *CM,* 2.525–26. See also Brundage (1993), 23–24 for comment and full bibliography. Gorochov (2016), 97, n. 219. provides support for the case for the earlier date.

23 *EBVM,* 8.697–98. 'There is a place for those of modest means among the great; and let the mighty knight give way to me, since I am a foot-soldier in a hurry to go further.'

24 *MS,* 215–16. 'I'm not of royal or papal blood, but as an heir to the spirit [i.e. a priest] I lay claim to its gifts.'

25 *EBVM,* 10.

26 Red Book of the Exchequer, vol. 1. 351, 507 (Ginga, Essex), vol. 2, 683, 685 (Gainz/ Geinz/ Gains, Berkshire).

27 'The thickets of wooded Plassetum witnessed me putting together the foundations of my commitment (*studium*) to you (the Virgin). But now, crushed in Paris, the city of students, I sigh for you, who are in Paradise.' Saiani however translates lines 185–6, 'La selva del folto Plasseto mi vide comporre per te l'inizio del mio lavoro.' The translation of '*studium*' is clearly important. See also *PP,* 6.89–90, '*Sum de Plasseto; placido mihi corde placeto.*'

de Garlande, reflected in the *Dictionnarius,*[28] and contrasted here with the relatively urban environment in which he completed *Epithalamium* around 1248.

Plassetum however was also the present-day Pleshey, a village in Essex only 11 km. from Gingia, and site of a castle,[29] briefly held by Savary de Mauléon, who captured it for King John in 1215. It is also worth noting that Geoffrey de Garland witnessed a deed recording business in Ingatestone in 1224; the surname was already established in Gingia.[30] John enjoyed juxtaposing his French and English connections, and would have relished the conceit of his real name being the same as his Parisian toponym. Both Essex and Berkshire theories are more persuasive than Dossat's suggestion that John was born around Hereford, on the grounds that his possible patron was a local landowner, Hugh de Lacy.[31] We do not know when John moved to Paris. It could have been as early as 1209 (See p. 18 above). Paetow examines the question in detail.[32] Theories[33] that he was there as early as 1204 were based on a faulty text of *Carmen de Misteriis Ecclesie,* 649–50, amended by editors since Otto (1842). Paetow thought it unlikely that he went to France before Prince Louis signed the Treaty of Lambeth in 1217, at the beginning of the reign of Henry III. This reasoning was presumably inferred from the turmoil of the times, but is inconclusive.

There is scant evidence on this elusive date. John's *Dictionnarius* provides some help. It lists the words for the various items produced by tradesmen in Paris. John was clearly teaching there when he wrote it. He was also still young, though not quite so young as he suggests, '*Pene puer, pueris ostendi nomina rerum*'[34] He was, in the words of the gloss, '*iuvenis*', and refers to himself several times in the *Dictionnarius* itself as '*magister*'. He was already producing teaching materials.

There is no reason to doubt the scholarly consensus that the *Dictionnarius* was written around 1220. It refers to the death of Simon de Montfort at the siege of Toulouse (1218). Intriguingly, John says he personally saw the paraphernalia of the siege '*nondum sedato tumultu belli.*'[35] This suggests that he might have made an early visit to Toulouse, perhaps even in response to a papal appeal in 1217.[36] Even if, as Paetow believed, John did write the dictionary in Paris and its glosses in Toulouse, it does not follow that these references in the *Dictionnarius* were interpolated later. The paragraph is a dramatic and natural way of introducing a list of words related to sieges,

---

28 *Dictionnarius*, 75–78.

29 Red Book of the Exchequer, vol. 2, 498, '*Comes Essexae, Plessetum.*' For Savary, see *DTE* 4.489–94 & n. 125. He took the castle from Geoffrey de Mandeville, who died in a tournament in 1216. Geoffrey's mother Beatrice was daughter of William de Say, mentioned in despatches as a crusader by John, *DTE* 3.507–10, alongside John Berners, whose family held estates within walking distance of Gingia, at Roding Berners.

30 Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, MS D/DP T1/1550.

31 Dossat (1970), 185; see also n. 64 below.

32 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 85–86 and n. 23.

33 Tanner (1746), 309 & Wright (1856), vi.

34 *AL*, 1500, a clear reference to the *Dictionnarius*, in a list of John's works. Dickson (2007), 33–34, suggests a liberal interpretation of the age (legally 7–14) indicated by '*puer,*' here clearly ironic.

35 *Dictionnarius*, 49.

36 See p. 59 below.

especially if John had just been to Toulouse. Even if this were a later interpolation, why would John fabricate an earlier visit?[37]

In any case, at the time John wrote the *Dictionnarius*, he was established in his house in the Clos de Garlande with its garden and orchard.[38] He became a teacher in Paris of the *trivium*, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, though his prime emphasis was clearly on the first two. As well as the *trivium*, as a Master of Arts he would also have studied the *quadrivium*, comprising arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy.[39] His works, not least *De triumphis*, demonstrate that he developed a wide interest in all seven liberal arts.

In 1229 there was a strike at the *studium* of Paris, and a substantial exodus of scholars. John was selected by Élie Guerin, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Grand Selve, for a teaching post at Toulouse, at a *studium* newly established under the Treaty of Paris at the expense of the defeated Count Raymond VII of Toulouse.[40] The purpose of the new *studium* was to counter the influence of the Cathar heresy through rigorous and intellectually advanced instruction[41] in a Christian academic community. John was however forced to flee the city and its hostile citizens with the rest of the faculty in 1232, returning by a hazardous route to Paris. He resumed teaching in the Clos de Garlande. He made at least one voyage to England,[42] and may have been a private tutor there.[43] The latest dateable events in *De triumphis* took place in 1252, and John's last known writing can be pinned to 1257–9.[44] The date of his death is unknown, though he probably died soon after that. Roger Bacon's reference in 1267 to having heard John opine on a point of grammar means no more than that; there is no doubt that they overlapped in Paris, but the Latin does not allow us to conclude with Wright[45] that John was alive then; still less to accept Paetow's inference that he 'probably was still alive in Paris about 1272.'[46]

John identified himself throughout his works as a cleric, but we do not know if he was a member of a religious order. In Toulouse he came under the influence of the prominent Cistercians, Élie Guérin, abbot of Grand Selve, and Fulk, bishop of Toulouse.[47] He also clearly knew and worked closely with the Dominicans during their early years there. He draws for inspiration several times on St Bernard, but also

---

37 See Hall (2013), 155 for further examination of this point. Holtz (2012), 289, pertinently asks why John would have sought permission of the legate at Bourges in 1225 to lecture on the *Epithalamium* in Toulouse if he was not already teaching there.

38 *Dictionnarius*, 75–79.

39 See Leff (1992) & North (1992), with their bibliographies, for the *trivium* and *quadrivium* respectively.

40 *DTE*, 5.247–48, 273–74.

41 John points out that in Toulouse, in contrast with Paris, Aristotle could be freely studied.

42 *MS*, 603.

43 See Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 94 and nn. 53 and 54.

44 See p. 27 below.

45 Roger Bacon, *Compendium studii philosophiae*, ed. J. Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita* (London, 1859), vol. 3, 453.

46 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 96.

47 Guérin, *DTE*, 5.271–74, 305–06; Fulk, 5.257–70, 6.15–16.

cites SS. Benedict and Francis.[48] These references show no more than an eclectic approach, and in the absence of defining evidence from his works it is probable that he was a lay cleric.

John explicitly had no noble sponsor for *De triumphis*.[49] Yet whatever his place in the hierarchy of the Church, he clearly had influential ecclesiastical contacts, sponsors and perhaps patrons, in England as well as France. It seems possible that as a young *magister* he knew Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester and the most powerful of Henry III's advisers at the time.[50] In Toulouse, as well as the Cistercian bishop and the abbot of Grand Selve, he was evidently on good terms with Romano Bonaventura, the papal legate. He accompanied Romano on his retreat to the monastery of Our Lady of Rocamadour (near Quercy, Lot), and read the *Epithalamium* to him at the Council of Bourges, on 30 November, 1225, eliciting approval and the suggestion that he read it in Toulouse — as he later did.[51] Elsewhere, John praises William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris 1228–1249),[52] (as well as three chancellors of the University of Paris, Philip the chancellor (1218–36), Petrus Parvus (*c.* 1244–46) and Gautier of Château-Thierry (1246–49). Of itself this indicates little beyond paying respect to the ecclesiastical authorities, but use of their names suggests a degree of comfort on their part to be associated with John's work. John Blund, Chancellor of York (*'flos pridem Parisiensis'*) is fulsomely praised in *Morale Scolarium* (1241), as is Fulk Bassett, later Bishop of London from 1244 to 1259.[53] There are glowing references in the last of John's surviving works, *Exempla honeste vite,* to Sir John Mansel (Maunsell), a favourite of Henry III who occupied several high ecclesiastical and secular offices; Philip Lovell, Henry's treasurer (1252–58); Henry Wingham, chancellor (1255–60); and Peter de Rivallis, a relative of Peter des Roches.

It is more difficult to discover John's contacts in the secular aristocracy. He specifically denies sponsorship in *De triumphis.* It is however interesting to note which magnates he praises. Prominent in their relevant contexts are Raymond VII of Toulouse (founder of the University of Toulouse) and Hugh X de Lusignan. Hugh especially is highly praised, *'Non est Enea nec Diomede minor'*.[54] John condemns both men's opposition to the king of France, but shows personal approval and some sympathy for their causes. Notably he records their deaths and laments their absence from

---

48 On Bernard of Clairvaux, see *DTE* 4, nn. 70 & 87, 5, n. 28, 7, n. 101, 8, nn. 108, 192. Benedict, 1.103–06 & n. 40, 8.118 & n. 42; Francis, 1.47, 4.315–16.

49 *DTE*, 8.21–22.

50 See p. 21 above.

51 *DTE*, 5.275–78 & 6.25–28. See also Saiani, 25–26 and *EBVM*, Prologue, 73–85, where John dedicates that work to Romano with flattering verses. The episode of the repentant Scholars (*DTE* 6, n. 11) would have offered a good opportunity at Bourges for John to provide a counter-example). As Saiani points out, this was well before John's appointment at the Toulouse *studium*, and clearly relates to an early version of *Epithalamium*. John took up Romano's suggestion during his three years at the *studium*, *DTE*, 6.27–28.

52 For William, see *Stella*, 496–501, *DTE*, 8.79, *MS*, 309; for Philip, *CG*, 1.43–45; for Petrus, *De misteriis*, 46, *DTE*, 8.80; and for Gautier, *Stella*, 913–915.

53 *MS*, 89–90 & 629–36 respectively. For Fulk, see also *De Misteriis*, 1–9.

54 *DTE*, 1.287–88, 3.529–40.

Louis' crusade, commemorating their forebears' honourable crusading records.[55] He remarks on the lineage of the Lusignan kings of Cyprus.[56] His *Commentarius* (1246) appears to have been written for Aymer, Henry III's half-brother and son of Hugh X de Lusignan and Isabella of Angoulême.[57] The Lusignan family were well-placed to open doors in the English court. John singles out Simon de Montfort and his sons, Amaury and Simon, for valour in the Albigensian Crusade.[58] John and William des Barres, and Ralph Fitz Nicholas and his father receive similar treatment.[59]

In his edition of *Compendium Gramatice,* Haye makes a strong case on internal evidence that Gilbert (1194–1241), Earl of Pembroke in 1234 and third son of William Marshal, may well have been the '*Gilbertus*' named in that poem as John's friend and probable patron.[60] Gilbert died in a jousting accident in 1241. John does not mention him in *De triumphis,* but praises William[61] as saviour of England from Prince Louis' invasion. He inveighs bitterly against tournaments.[62]

Also given honourable mention for valour, either in crusades or other wars, are Nicolaa de la Haye, Richard of Cornwall, William Longespée II, Hugh de Lacy, Roger Bigod, William de Say, John Berners, Henry of Hastings, Olivier de Termes and Robert of Artois. There is a more ambivalent reference to Richard de Clare.[63] Dossat notes that Hugh de Lacy is the only crusader apart from the Montforts singled out for praise in John's account of the Albigensian Crusade, and may therefore have been a patron.[64]

John of Garland's oeuvre

This edition relates *De triumphis* to many of John's other works. Both Hauréau and Paetow have produced detailed catalogues of these, compendiously annotated.[65] More recent scholars have made relatively minor modifications to their conclusions.

The *Dictionnarius*[66] is generally regarded as John's first work. Paetow dates this in 1220, allowing for John's exaggeration of his youth. Marguin-Hamon suggests the

---

55 Hugh IX and Hugh X, *DTE*, 2. 41–42; Raymonds IV and VII, 2, 131–36.
56 *DTE*, 3.123–24.
57 Paetow (1928), 131.
58 For Amaury, see *DTE*, 5.53–56, 7.177–78, and for the younger Simon *DTE*, 3.455–56 & *Exempla*, 295.
59 *DTE*, 3.409–18 & 429–32.
60 *CG*, 13–15. *History of William Marshal*, 14890–92 describes Gilbert as '*Clers fu, de boen senz renommez / De bones mors, de boen afaire / Franz et gentilz et debonnaire.*' Henry III initially blocked Gilbert from inheriting his estate, but then relented, *CM*, 3.292, on the advice of Edmund of Canterbury, who is singled out for praise by John, *DTE*, 7.185–210.
61 *DTE*, 3.280–84.
62 *DTE*, 2.503–22. 2.283–84 is more sympathetic.
63 *DTE*, 3.445–46.
64 Dossat (1970), 185.
65 Hauréau (1877), *MS*, Intro., 107–45. Also helpful is *CC*, Intro., vii–ix.
66 See p. 23 above.

later 1220s, but before John's move to Toulouse in 1229.[67] She also places the *Parisiana Poetria*[68] in these early years. This shows the influence of earlier 'poetic-rhetorical' writers such as Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf. Saiani argues persuasively on literary and textual grounds that the *Epithalamium Beate Virginis Marie* also belongs to this period, against the previous consensus that it was at least begun in Toulouse.[69] This long devotional poem is written in elegiacs like *De triumphis.*

After John's return to Paris, he produced over the next two years or so a battery of grammatical works intended like most of his written work (though not *De triumphis*) for classroom use: *Ars Lectoria Ecclesie* (*Accentarius*),[70] in Paetow's view John's most influential grammatical work, *Compendium Grammatice*, comprising some 4000 hexameters, and *Clavis Compendii.* The influential *Integumenta Ovidii*, which offered allegorical interpretations of Ovid, also belongs to this period.[71]

Thereafter, as far as we know, John's output slowed. *Morale Scolarium*, a satirical guide in verse to student behaviour, was written around 1241;[72] in *De Misteriis Ecclesie* (1245),[73] John developed the symbolism of the physical church and of the liturgy. The *Commentarius* (1246),[74] so far inedited, is a glossary of vocabulary relevant to the lives of the aristocracy and clergy. *Stella Maris*, or *Miracula Beate Marie Virginis*, (1248–9)[75] is an 1155-line verse anthology of sixty-one traditional Marian myths and miracles. *Exempla Honestae Vitae* can be dated internally to 1257–59. It is a short verse account of rhetorical figures, and John's latest dateable work. Paetow regards references to Fulk, dean of York, and Sir John Mansel, chancellor of England (1246–48), as adding to 'our indirect evidence that John of Garland may have taught the sons of English nobles during his visit(s) to England some time between 1232 and 1241.'[76]

There is no dispute among scholars that John was the author of the works so far listed, and a broad consensus on their rough order of composition. There are a number of other works of more doubtful attribution, and I will now briefly evaluate these issues.

Authorship of two influential musical treatises attributed to John of Garland, *De plana musica* and *De mensurabili musica,* remains contested amongst experts.[77] No-one doubts the name of their author. Waite identifies him with John of Garland

---

67 *CC*, vii.
68 *CC*, vii.
69 *EBVM*, 26, nn. 55, 56, See also n. 10 to *DTE* 6.27.below.
70 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 12.
71 See Coulson (2011), 48–82.
72 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 152.
73 *De Misteriis*, 639–42.
74 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 131, n. 14.
75 Wilson, *Stella*, Intro., 79.
76 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 128.
77 Waite (1960), Reimer (1972), Whitcomb (1999), helpfully summarised by Duhamel (2012). The position is well put by Jeserich (2008, English version 2013), 261–62, 'It has been debated whether the author of the *Parisiana Poetria* is identical with the music theoretician of the same name, similar birth and death dates, and same place of activity'… … 'Research currently tends to assume that two different people were involved.'

the grammarian and poet, on several grounds including his enthusiasm for and technical knowledge of music, and stylistic similarities between the works in question and *De triumphis Ecclesie*.[78] There is however a strong body of musicological opinion that these works must by their content be dated too late in the thirteenth century to have been written by the same John of Garland. In *De triumphis* John does not show a specialised knowledge of music beyond that he would have learned from Boethius' *De institutione musica* during his studies as a Master. He does however show passion for music — though he reveals he did not sing well — and allocates it a central role in the Toulouse curriculum. Jeserich[79] and Marguin-Hamon[80] independently, and for me persuasively, demonstrate the close link between John's thinking on rhythm and metre in verse in the *Parisiana Poetria* and Boethius' framework of music theory.

Further grammatical and lexicographical works have sometimes been attributed to John. He was so prolific and eminent in these fields that the archivists of manuscripts tended to credit him with works of doubtful authorship. In this category are *Cornutus* or *Distigium, Merarium, Equivoca, Synonima, Tractatus de Aequivocis, Unum Omnium* and *Dictionarius Metricus.* Three further poetical works popular in the Middle Ages and attributed to John were *Facetus*, *Floretus* and *De contemptu Mundi*, but his authorship was rejected by Hauréau and Paetow, whose view has not been challenged since. Paetow also doubted that John had commented on and revised the *Doctrinale* by Alexander de Villa-Dei, or the *Grecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune, popular grammar text-books of which he was highly critical.[81] Colker and Grondeux respectively have however shown that he did in fact provide commentaries and revisions of both.[82]

I would add to this 'doubtful' list *Assertiones fidei, Gesta Apostolica* and *Georgica Spiritualia.* Paetow used *DTE, 6.* 73–76 and 153–54 to support the case for their existence as separate works. The *Assertiones* and *Georgica* are otherwise attested only by thirteenth century glosses to MS Bruges 546.[83] John in these lines of *De triumphis* appears simply to be describing his preaching materials, without any hint of additional works by himself. For the first two, the more prosaic explanation, that John is referring to a standard preaching manual and to the Acts of the Apostles — or conceivably the section of *De triumphis* about the Apostles which follows[84] — would be the natural interpretation. As for the *Georgica Spiritualia*, the case for John's authorship must rest only on Wilson's ingenious research,[85] without the support of *DTE, 6.*153–54, which appears to refer to the adjacent rubric about St George and the following lines. It is altogether possible that the gloss itself was based in the first place on these lines of *De triumphis.*

---

78 *DTE*, 5.147–52 & 6.49–60.
79 Jeserich (2013 English), 263–69. See further on the Toulouse curriculum, at 60 below.
80 Marguin-Hamon (2010b).
81 *MS*, 353–71, *CG*, *passim*, Born (1964).
82 Colker (1974), Grondeux (2000). See also Grondeux (2013), 70.
83 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 107–08, Marguin-Hamon, *AL*, 298.
84 *DTE*, 6. 77–152.
85 Novati, ed., 'Un poème inconnu de Gautier de Châtillon,'in *Mélange Paul Fabre* (Paris, 1902), 262–78. For attribution to John of Garland, see Wilson (1933).

John was very probably also the author of two now missing works on, respectively, the *computus* (calculation of the date of Easter), and on medical matters (*Memoriale*). John claims the *Memoriale* himself,[86] and 'in many manuscripts and almost all the old bibliographies' he is credited with a work on *computus*.[87] Although earlier scholars regarded this as a confusion with Gerlandus, yet another near-namesake of the twelfth century, *De triumphis* offers substantial evidence of John's interest in this area, and suggests that he wrote separately on the subject.[88] He is however clearly not the author of Gerlandus' work.

For the sake of completeness and to avoid confusion, Paetow lists a further seventeen variously attributed or mis-named works.[89]

86 AL, line 1509, '*Urine signa, morbos, medicamina scripsi.*' See also n. 15 above.

87 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 141. See *DTE*, 5, n. 31 (Stuttgart, 2013).

88 *DTE*, 5.85–140, 6. 17–24. See Gerlandus Compotista, *Computus*, ed. & trans. (German) Lohr, *Der Computus Gerlandi: Edition, Übersetzung und Erläuterungen* (Stuttgart, 2013).

89 Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 143-45.

CHAPTER 2

The Manuscript Tradition and Previous Scholarship

MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x

The only extant manuscript of *De triumphis Ecclesie* is London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A x, ff. 67^{r}–113^{v}.[1] It is probably French, but could be English. It is of parchment, comprising 115 folios, mostly double-sided, each 250 × 180 mm. Folios 1 and 2 are respectively medieval and early modern end-leaves. The contents are listed twice on f. 2. The first *catalogus* has been crossed out. Clearly in error, it lists the *Epithalamium,* followed by items numbered 2–5, *Orationes virtutum, De benevolentia, de triumphis Ecclesie* and *De Bellis Ecclesie contra Albigenses et de causis eorum.* A later hand has listed as the second item '*Libri 8 Elegiacis versibus conscripti in quibus agitur de bellis Christianorum. de triumphis ecclesie. De cruce suscipienda. de expeditione Richardi primi Regis Angliae et Philippi Regis Francorum ad terram sacram. De bellis civilibus temporibus Regis Iohannis. De bellis Ecclesiae contra Albigenses haereticos et de causis eorum. De tractione studii Tholosani, etc. Autore nescio quo Iohanne qui viderit* (sic) *temporibus Regum antedictorum.'* At the top of f. 3 of the manuscript, which bears the signature of Robert Cotton (1571–1631) at its foot, the correct description appears, '*Epithalamium B. Mariae Virginis: autore Johanne de Garlandia. Eiusdem de triumphis Ecclesiae libri 8,*' after deletion of '*De triumphis Ecclesie,*' written in a different hand.

The first sixty-five substantive folios comprise one of the four extant versions of John's *Epithalamium Beate Marie Virginis*,[2] also in a single, different, mid- to late- thirteenth century hand. For *De triumphis,* the text and cramped instructions for rubrics are in a single hand, French or perhaps English, of the second half of the thirteenth century. Some draft rubrics are incomplete because at some point the folios have been trimmed. Rubrics were added in red perhaps towards the end of the fourteenth or even early fifteenth century.[3] Rubrication was not completed in the last book, and there are only a few original instructions in black, with black rather than red script in the later hand of the rubricator. There are only three explanatory

1 I am grateful to Tessa Webber and to Julian Harrison for their guidance on the provenance and dating of the manuscript. Wright also attributes it to the late thirteenth century.

2 For Saiani's description of the first half of MS Cotton Claudius A x and the other MSS of the *Epithalamium* see *EBVM*, 207–29.

3 One can only guess why rubrics were added so much later, perhaps amidst enthusiasm for the Nicopolis campaign (1396), when the bibliophile Duc de Berry, also count of Poitou, commissioned '*Mélusine*' or '*La noble histoire de Lusignan*' to revive the heroic crusading memory of the extinct Poitou line of the Lusignans (1392). See Paul (2012), 88.

glosses,[4] and apart from the rubrication no evidence of contemporary or later use of the manuscript before the seventeenth century. The British Library catalogue describes the MS as 'intact'; but folio 67 has suffered minor damage.[5] This means that an important section of the Preface, lines 51–72, is impossible to reconstruct with confidence. The text is tightly and carefully written, with generous margins. It includes occasional corrections, probably by the scribe, full punctuation and a few graffiti, presumably by readers.

The margins of the text of *De triumphis* contain seven illustrations, some in black ink, others in colour. These are contemporary with the text, some at least probably by the same hand, and all are reproduced here (see list at p. 11).

John of Garland himself cannot be ruled out as the scribe. He clearly took a close interest in the instructions for rubrication, or *capitula*, and refers to the chapter headings in the text of the poem.[6] The manuscript could well have been written in his lifetime. The text is, however, almost certainly not an autograph. In a few instances the scribe has made errors through not knowing the story; John would have been unlikely to get them wrong. These are most likely due to misheard dictation, whether by the author or by someone else.[7] There are however several obvious instances and other possible cases where the lines are in the wrong order.[8] This suggests that the scribe made errors in splicing together sections of written text produced at different times.

The colophon of the manuscript of *De triumphis* is in Latin incorrectly transliterated into a mixture of Byzantine Greek minuscule and majuscule script. This is a flourish by the scribe or the rubricator, or perhaps a reader, to celebrate finishing a long manuscript and to show off his learning (See Plate 10, p. 391). There is no evidence that John himself understood Greek.

Nor is there any evidence of where this manuscript was, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Saiani, following Wilson, considers that at least the *Epithalamium* section of this manuscript formed part of the library of St Augustine of Canterbury, but there is no conclusive evidence that this was bound with *De triumphis* at that time.[9] Thomas Minton, whose name appears on f. 115 v. may have been an early owner. What is now known as MS Cotton Claudius A x was previously the property of Henry Savile of Banke (1568–1617),[10] a Yorkshire collector of manuscripts, and acquired from him by Sir Robert Cotton.[11] Although it was recorded as missing from Cotton's library in 1703, it clearly found its way back. Cotton's library formed one of the founding collections of the British Museum in 1753.

---

4 At *DTE*, 2.674, 4.362, 8.499.
5 See *DTE*, Preface, n. 3.
6 See *DTE*, 6.154 & nn. 50 & 51.
7 See for example emendations to *DTE*, Prologue.53 & 127, 1.95, 1.138, 3.652, 5.148 below, with footnotes.
8 See *DTE*, 3. 229–30 & 283–84, and 7.61–64, with explanatory footnotes.
9 *EBVM*, 207; *Stella*, Intro., 69 & n. 316.
10 Watson (1969), 23.
11 Tite (2003), 32 & 122.

The Rev. James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, and a friend of Cotton, mentions *De triumphis Ecclesie* by name in a work of 1613, and quotes extensively from it.[12] There is a record of its loan to him in 1621 from Cotton's library. Paetow does not mention Ussher's interest. But he noted that the English bibliographer Thomas Tanner listed the work as John's in 1748. Tanner summarises it from a reading of the rubrics. Other bibliographers both before Tanner, such as Leyser (1721) and after him, such as Fabricius (1754), reported finding John of Garland's *Epithalamium* in Cotton Claudius A x, but did not also list *De triumphis* among his works. Nor did Rivet (1747). On the basis that *De triumphis* was not attributed to John in the manuscript itself until Cotton's time, and then merely on an inside page of *Epithalamium*, only writers who looked beyond the end-leaf contents page would have made the connection.

Thomas Wright's edition of 1856 and nineteenth century reactions

Thomas Wright, a respected English scholar and antiquarian, 'discovered' the manuscript of *De triumphis* in the British Museum and shared it with other scholars in 1842.[13] He did not mention Ussher or Tanner. This same year, an edition of *De misteriis Ecclesie* was published in Germany; this was clearly identified as written by John of Garland and could be dated internally to 1245.[14] In 1846, Wright demonstrated that *De triumphis* was also by John of Garland and written in the mid-thirteenth century.[15] He provided Victor Le Clerc in Paris with a copy and the two enjoyed a competitive collaboration. Wright's edition was published in 1856 by the Roxburghe Club.[16] Wright mostly transcribed the manuscript accurately, and my debt to him is enormous. But he left many unintelligible passages unamended; often his errors occurred when he changed the text unnecessarily. His introduction and relatively few notes are often informative, but cannot be regarded as a full edition.

Further work on *De triumphis* continued mainly in France. Le Clerc updated Rivet's *Histoire littéraire* even before Wright had published the text.[17] Wright and Le Clerc established that there was a single 'John of Garland,' author of most if not all the grammatical and poetic works attributed to him.[18] Forced to concede John's Englishness, Le Clerc heavily criticised the style, composition and historicity of *De triumphis*. Adolphe Gatien-Arnaud helpfully and more sympathetically pulled

---

12 Ussher (1613), 2.344–82. See *DTE*, 4, n. 123.

13 See also the review by 'Sylvanus Urban' of 'Middle Age Latin poetry,' in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1838, 500–04, for a 'leaked' early reference.

14 G. Otto (1842) ed., '*Johannes de Garlandia de mysteriis Ecclesiae: Commentarii critici in codices Bibliothecae Academicae Gissensis*, (Giessen, 1842). See now *CME*, 640–43.

15 Wright (1846), vol. 1,176–217.

16 A British bibliophile society established in 1812, and still in existence. This volume was published at the initiative and expense of the Earl of Powis.

17 Le Clerc, (1847), 369–72, and (1852), 11–13, 77–103, 948–50.

18 For a useful account of confusions over John's identity, see Paetow, *MS*, Intro., 96–98.

together in 1866 what was known about John of Garland in the Toulousain context.[19] In 1877, Barthelémy Hauréau produced his compendious review of John of Garland's works.[20] He took account of the *Exempla honestae vitae*, discovered in France in 1856, but was mostly content to rely on Le Clerc's earlier work and critical judgments, particularly on *De triumphis*.

Louis J. Paetow

The American historians influenced by Haskins and Munro interested themselves in the rediscovery of the classics ('medieval renaissance') in the thirteenth century, and their perceived relevance to their own post-war world. John of Garland fascinated Louis J. Paetow, a pupil of Munro.[21] In his splendid commentary to *Morale Scolarium*,[22] he collated the known facts about John's life, and reviewed the works attributed to him, greatly advancing earlier French scholarship. Paetow's central theme was John's defence of the humanities against the growing influence of more commercially-oriented subjects, especially law. In *The Crusading Ardor of John of Garland*, published in 1928, he examined *De triumphis Ecclesie* from the viewpoint of a crusades historian.[23] This perceptive review has been regarded ever since as definitive.[24] Paetow recognised however that his work on *De triumphis* was incomplete: 'Before the poem can be fully utilised for historical purposes it must be re-edited with an abundance of linguistic, literary and historical notes. This can probably best be done after we have critical editions of all the inedited works of John of Garland.'[25] That condition is not yet wholly satisfied, but enough progress has been made to attempt an edition and to place the work in context.

Notwithstanding Paetow's efforts to rehabilitate *De triumphis Ecclesie*, its off-putting Latin, Wright's sometimes unintelligible text, and nineteenth-century French derision have deterred subsequent study. To make matters worse *De triumphis*, as a limited Roxburghe Club edition,[26] was itself a rare book until it became digitally available.

More recent scholarship

Modern interest in John's work has been largely in his contributions to the development of pedagogy, lexicography and rhetoric, and to Marian literature. Excellent modern texts have emerged (often with translations) of many of his other works. Ghisaberti's

19 Gatien-Arnoult (1866).
20 Hauréau (1877).
21 Munro was 'the founder of crusade history in the United States,' Bird, Peters & Powell (2013), xi.
22 Paetow, *MS*, 69–258.
23 Paetow (1928).
24 E.g. Jackson (2007), 6, n. 24.
25 Paetow (1928), 209.
26 See, however, Jackson (2007), 175–76, for brief translated extracts.

Integumenta Ovidii appeared in 1933, Wilson's *Stella Maris* in 1946, Reimer's *De Mensurabili Musica* in 1972, Lawler's *Parisiana Poetria* in 1974, Saiani's *Epithalamium Beate Virginis Marie* and Haye's *Compendium Gramatice* in 1995, Marguin-Hamon's *Ars Lectoria Ecclesie* and *Clavis Compendii* in 2003 and 2008 respectively, and Könsgen's *Carmen de Misteriis Ecclesie* in 2004. Marguin-Hamon usefully listed extant manuscripts of John's works in 2006.[27] Three years later, she published with Grondeux a review of John's grammatical works, opening up new thinking on the *modus operandi* of the Paris schools.[28] Although it takes no account of *De triumphis*, Holtz' essay of 2012 takes a strongly positive view of John's work, 'Dès ses premières oeuvres, il se révèle un poète, un penseur ayant une vision large et synthétique de l'histoire et de la place de la culture dans l'histoire, bref, une vision humaniste fondée sur une foi profonde.'[29] Rachel Fulton Brown is currently working on an English translation of *Epithalamium.*

The major surveys of medieval Latin poetry, notably those of Faral, Raby and Rigg, all took account, not always favourably, of *De triumphis* in Wright's edition.[30] Smith looked in detail at the 'prospectus' for the University of Toulouse (*DTE*, 6.365–435) in 1958.[31] Dossat usefully reviewed the evidence on John's life and works in 1970, observing that 'Le *De triumphis Ecclesie* est sans doute l'oeuvre maîtresse de Jean de Garlande.'[32] In *Naissance de l'université,* Natalie Gorochov takes full account of John's work in the *studia* of Paris and Toulouse.

Yet despite the recent popularity of crusades studies, *De triumphis Ecclesie* as a whole has received scarcely any attention. A notable exception was the late Professor Paul Gerhardt Schmidt, who for many years planned a critical edition.[33] He did in fact publish an edited text of the 'Toulouse prospectus'.[34] Gregory Hays has generously made available to me his recent unpublished work on the manuscript and on John's use of Vergil and Lucan in *De triumphis.* Yet because of its continuing inaccessibility, this poem has remained more widely unfamiliar.

---

27 Marguin-Hamon (2006).
28 Grondeux & Marguin-Hamon (1999).
29 Holtz (2012).
30 Faral (1924), 41, Raby (1953), vol. 2, 385–389, Rigg (1992), 174–76.
31 C. E. Smith (1958), 1–55.
32 Dossat (1970), 188.
33 He wrote several short articles, which show a lively understanding of the work. These are listed in the bibliography.
34 Schmidt (1998a).

CHAPTER 3

De triumphis Ecclesie

Summary of poem

De triumphis Ecclesie is a Latin elegiac poem of 4602 lines (plus the prose 'Toulouse prospectus'), in eight books of varying lengths. A summary follows:

Preface. The poem is dedicated to the praise of Christ, the Virgin and Cross, and to the victory, kingdom and glory of the Church. It is a heroic chronicle of the deeds (*gesta*) of the Cross, and of its champions, the kings of France. Lasting peace is elusive. It is postponed by fighting amongst Christians, especially between France and England. They should be united against Muslims and heretics. The innocent suffer in conflicts, but just war and martyrdom against enemies of the Cross are glorious. Righteous leaders are traduced by slanderers and turncoats. The world is beleaguered because of mankind's inherent sinfulness, but the Church is on its way to victory.

Prologue. John loosely describes the contents of the poem and his literary technique.

Book 1. John denounces territorial wars, and traces Anglo-French hostility to disputes between Kings Richard I and Philip II (*Augustus*) at Acre, and the revolt of Hugh X de Lusignan against Louis IX. Queen Blanche seeks peace, but Christendom and the Church are assailed by their enemies. There is a call to arms in defence of the Holy Land. Muhammad will pay the price for his sins. John digresses on the signs of the zodiac.

Book 2. There are further appeals to the kings of England and France to stop fighting each other and attack the Infidels. Tracing recent disharmony, John returns to Hugh de Lusignan's rebellion, supported by Henry III, and his submission to Louis IX (1241–2). He empathises with the sufferings of the rural population, and denounces corruption in the Church. The book contains a fragmented '*exhortatio de cruce suscipienda*', and *exempla* of English and French saints. There are digressions on the weather and on English and French national qualities.

Book 3 examines tensions between Richard and Philip during the Third Crusade (1189–91). John focuses on Richard's exploits, capture and death. He then briefly remembers his former teacher, John of London, before reporting the unsuccessful alliance between the Emperor Otto and King John against Philip II, and the battle of Bouvines (1214). King John's excommunication, campaigns and death are followed by the invasion of England by Prince Louis and his defeat by William Marshal at the siege of Lincoln (1217). The poem returns to Henry III's Poitevin campaign and the battles of Saintes and Taillebourg (1242).

Book 4. John moves on to the Albigensian Crusade, which spans Books 4 and 5. He uniquely recounts the alleged murder by Roger II Trencavel of the bishop of Albi, for seducing his wife. He describes the 'martyrdom' of Peter of Castelnau (1208), and laments the diversion of resources needed to recover the Holy Land. John criticises the Crusaders' capture of Béziers and Carcassonne and the death of Raymond-Roger Trencavel, Roger II's successor. The battle of Muret (1213) is treated as a set piece featuring Simon de Montfort's heroism and the death of King Peter II of Aragon. John vividly describes the siege of Toulouse (1218). Book 4 also touches on the Cathar and Waldensian heresies.

Book 5 gloomily invokes the Virgin and continues with the siege of Toulouse, ending with de Montfort's death (1218). The death of Louis VIII and Louis IX's accession (1226) follow. Raymond VII commits under the Treaty of Paris (1229) to take the Cross and endow the *studium* of Toulouse. There are digressions on the *computus* and on Charlemagne. John includes a biography of Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, and tributes to the other founders of the *studium*, Élie Guerin and the Legate Romano. The book ends with the prose 'prospectus letter' for the *studium.*

Book 6 covers John's three years' teaching in Toulouse (1229–1232). He records his completion of *Epithalamium* and reading it to the legate at the Council of Bourges (1225); and describes the curriculum at Toulouse. He notes the establishment of the Dominicans in Toulouse and the decline of the *studium.* John escapes from Toulouse in 1232, and after a hazardous journey returns to Paris. Then follow the papal interregnum of 1241–3, Frederick II's harassment of the bishops, and the election of Innocent IV as pope (1243). The Mongol invasions of 1241–42 are presented as divine punishment for man's original sin.

Book 7 catalogues Mongol excesses, aided by the Cumans and Jews. John notes the death of Edmund of Canterbury (1240). The Council of Lyon (1245) and Innocent IV's deposition of Frederick II follow; John recounts Louis IX's final reconciliations with opponents in France; his fever and taking of the Cross (1244) with his two brothers; the building of Sainte Chapelle; and popular enthusiasm for a crusade to recover Jerusalem, sacked in 1244.

Book 8 reminds the reader of John's classical forbears, and his unworthiness as a poet, as a preface to Louis' Egyptian expedition. John warns of hazards lying in wait. He recounts the fleet's departure from Aigues Mortes, wintering in Cyprus, and Louis' occupation of Damietta; his defeat at Mansourah, followed by capture, imprisonment, ransom and miraculous release. He praises Louis' subsequent consolidation in the Holy Land, and speculates on a possible alliance with the king of Egypt against the Sultan of Aleppo. The narrative ends hoping that the kings of Spain and England will carry on Louis' fight. John calls for a new crusade and looks forward to glorious victory at the Apocalypse. The poem ends with a summary of ten numbered points.

Date of composition

De triumphis Ecclesie was not a single continuous piece of writing. It appears to comprise material written throughout John's adult life. In the *Ars Lectoria,*[1] firmly dated 1234, he refers to his fourth '*libellum*' as '*gesta revolvens / Ecclesie, celebresque Deo sub rege triumphos,*'[2] undoubtedly an earlier version of *De triumphis Ecclesie.* It was not uncommon for John to revise works he had already 'published.'[3] Where John leaves clues, the footnotes to this edition examine the evidence for dating particular sections.

Apart from references to the distant past, and occasional mention of the first two crusades, the events in *De triumphis* occurred during John's lifetime. The Third Crusade, and the reigns of Richard I and John, took place while he was a boy. He refers to '*mirandaque mundo / Gesta crucis nostri que meminere senes.*'[4] This could still refer to Third Crusade veterans if written in the 1220s, and the possibilities multiply if it was composed later. Certainly John's account of that crusade and of Richard's reign appears self-contained and based on the same or similar Latin and Old French sources as we rely on today.[5] Only the Albigensian Crusade seems to owe anything to personal testimony. John says little about domestic developments in England or France unless they also relate to the other country. He probably wrote his account of the Third Crusade and the deeds of Richard I early in his career and before French influences grew stronger. His coverage of selected events from the reigns of Philip II and John, together with the first references to Frederick II and the pope, can also be tentatively dated to this period.

John's account of the Albigensian Crusade is likewise continuous and self-contained and mostly reflects other written sources, both Latin and vernacular. On the other hand, his coverage of the siege of Toulouse in 1218 is vivid and seems to reflect recent first-hand observations — perhaps heard on a visit soon afterwards (see Introduction, 23–24). This section may well have been written before John taught in Toulouse from 1229–1232. So too perhaps were some of the *exempla* covering the lives of the saints and apostles, used as preaching material in Toulouse. The prose 'prospectus letter' has been generally assumed to be John's work, and there is no reason to disagree. It was composed in 1229 or shortly after. John's lively coverage of his years in Toulouse, his denunciation of heretics and innuendo-ridden account of his journey back to Paris were probably written shortly after his return.

There is extensive coverage of the years 1241–42, suggesting intensive writing around that time. John deals with the Mongol incursions (1241–42) in Books 6 and 7,

---

1 *AL*, 1505.

2 Echoed in *DTE*, Prologue.85.

3 E.g. *Dictionnarius*, *Epithalamium*, *Parisiana Poetria*, all of which have been difficult to date. See Wilson (1933), 361, n. 2, Lawler, *PP*, Intro., xv. These poems were all named with *De triumphis* in this same passage of *Ars Lectoria*, as John's first four (youthful) books.

4 *DTE*, Prologue.17–18.

5 Principally, but not exclusively, the *Itinerarium.* These are cited as appropriate in the footnotes to the edition.

and with Henry III's invasion of Poitou (1242) in two sections, in Books 2 and 4. He revisits the papal-imperial dispute to cover the seizure of the bishops in 1241 and the papal interregnum, as well as Louis IX's purchase of relics from Constantinople and construction of Sainte Chapelle to house them. John himself tells us he was writing *De triumphis* in Paris at around the time of the Council of Lyon (1245),[6] and there are obvious new elements[7] which he appears to have added then, not least a partial account of the Council itself. Clearly a substantial portion of the poem was written in the first half of the 1240s.

The earlier books lead up to John's narrative of Louis IX's illness, crusading vow and preparations for the Seventh Crusade (1244–48). Much of the writing is triumphalist and anticipatory of victory. John clearly expected to record Louis' recapture of Jerusalem. But from the landing in Damietta onwards there are hints of Louis' looming defeat.[8] John deals rapidly with the battle of Mansourah and ends his historical account on an upbeat note. Queen Blanche, who died on 27 November 1252, was still alive. Louis IX was in the Holy Land when John stopped recording new events. All this suggests that he ended work on this poem in 1252 at the latest.

De triumphis contains two separate *excitationes,* appealing for support for a new crusade. One comes early in the work,[9] and appears in fragmented lines and couplets which obviously form part of it over much of Book 2. It has only minor affinities with the *excitatio* in *Parisiana Poetria,*[10] a rhetorical exercise which Lawler relates to the Fifth or Sixth Crusade. *DTE,* 2.285 refers to '*Ludovicum,*' and this *excitatio* best fits the years prior to the Seventh Crusade when Louis IX was distracted by wars and then seeking allies. *DTE,* 8.531–34 picks up the same theme, addressed to preachers, and refers to the same countries as potential recruiting grounds. It seems to be about the Seventh Crusade but to have been left unaltered after the king's defeat as an appeal for fresh support in Egypt.

In short, John probably wrote the text we have in bursts of activity in the early 1220s, in Toulouse and soon after his return to Paris (1229–34), leading to a first version; and then a further phase in 1241–1245, and thereafter as events unfolded from 1248 to 1252, when he abruptly stopped. The concept of definitive 'publication' is unhelpful.

An unfinished work

Thus, even though many sections are elaborately crafted, in some respects *De triumphis Ecclesie* shows signs of haste and is clearly unfinished. Take, for a start, the number of books. John praises the special quality of the number nine, and tells us that the

6 *DTE,* 8.69–70.
7 *DTE,* 7.479–90, 8.77–80.
8 *DTE,* 8.204–05.
9 *DTE,* 2.275–90. See Book 2, n. 81.
10 *PP,* 4.207–84.

poem has nine books.[11] The scribe's draft rubric for the heading of Book 7 gives its number unequivocally. The third line of the next book, eighth and clearly final, introduces it as the ninth. The remaining initial draft rubrics are cropped illegibly. The books have been numbered consecutively by the later rubricator, from first to eighth. In Book 8, however, space was left for an embellished initial capital and book title, but with no draft rubric. So it is possible that the real Book 8 is missing. John may have planned to insert it, but in his rush failed to do so. This could also explain why there are only a few draft rubrics in the last book — the scribe was awaiting the penultimate book before rounding off his work. Another, less likely[12] hypothesis is that the *Exhortatio ad Crucem suscipiendam,* with no apparent initial draft rubric, but given its title by the rubricator, was intended to be Book 3, given that the scribe left space for a capital letter to start.

There are various relevant topics a missing book might have covered. It is no surprise that except *en passant* John omits the First and Second Crusades; his plan was to focus on the events of his own lifetime. In the *Epithalamium,* John says he intends elsewhere to give a full account of the Fifth Crusade.[13] There is however no such description in *De triumphis,*[14] or elsewhere in John's works. John may indeed have planned such a book, which would have fitted well as a precursor to the Seventh Crusade. He hints at writing a more universal history,[15] but only the first few lines of Book 6 show any hint of this. Major domestic events in England and France such as Magna Carta (1215) and the Crusade of the Pastoureaux (1251) are omitted, but lacked John's Anglo-French focus. The end of Book 7 describes the contents of the various books. After Books 1 and 2, '*Ordo sequens prelia seva movet. / Sanctorum monstratur hiis victoria, mundi / Corruptela, scelus, pompa, ruina, dolus. / Historiis satiras*[16] *et gesta tragedica iunxi, Hec ut venturi singula vera legant.*' / 'the following sequence sets fierce battles in motion; in these are displayed the victory of the saints, and earthly corruption, crime, pride, destruction and deceit. I have conjoined satires and tragic deeds with these historical accounts, so that people to come can read these true facts one by one.'[17] This could indicate a missing eighth book of further anecdotes of the saints and their adversaries. The opening of Book 8 does not provide the answer: '*Est liber hic nonus qui cum preeuntibus octo/ Ecclesie laudes, bella, trophea canit.*'[18] Reading '*novus*' for '*nonus*' does not help.

---

11 *DTE,* Prologue.119. On this aspect of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, the most widely read account of the First Crusade, see Sweetenham's translation, Intro., 63–64.

12 This would not escape the problem posed by the draft rubric for Book 7.

13 *EBVM,* 4.103–04, '*Hec alias alio dixi pede plenius aptans / historiam, causas in nova bella canens.*' This implies however that he had already written an account in hexameters, not the distichs (couplets) of both *Epithalamium* and *De triumphis.*

14 Except the brief moral tale at *DTE,* 7.165–76.

15 *DTE,* Prologue.99–100, & n. 37.

16 John defines satire, '*in qua recitantur malefacta, causa correctionis,*' and tragedy as '*carmen quod incipit a gaudio et terminatur in luctum,*' both subdivisions of '*historicum,*' *PP,* 5.359–66, with Lawler's notes.

17 *DTE,* 7.495–500.

18 *DTE,* 8.3–4.

There are numerous passages, identified in footnotes to the text, which contain internal evidence of having been written at different times without any attempt at overall synchronisation. The section headed *Exhortatio de cruce suscipienda,* and what appears to be a tribute to William Marshal,[19] are in fragmentary form, though this could be due to errors of transcription rather than editing.

The poem contains three separate and inconsistent versions of its contents. The Preface and Prologue taken together provide its *accessus*. The Preface points forward to a '*summa libelli,*' presumably the Prologue, to enable the attentive listener ('*auditor docilis*') to grasp the whole work and John's reasons for writing it. He immediately offers a brief high-level synopsis in lines 33–50 of the Preface, emphasising the role of the kings of France as Christian champions and the debilitating effect of internecine disputes. A much fuller description, 'with the headings and the paragraphs corresponding to them' takes up most of the Prologue (11–126). This is accompanied by the Arabic numerals 1–16 in the margin of the manuscript, in a fourteenth century hand, perhaps that of the rubricator. They relate only loosely to the subject matter and order of the poem, but contain a good deal about John's literary and stylistic approach, as well as some events outside the poem's scope.

The *summa* at the end lists points numbered (i) - (x) in Roman numerals, probably also in a fourteenth century hand.[20] This second numbered list could be an earlier catalogue of books John intended to include in a poem planned to celebrate Louis IX's anticipated victory in the Holy Land. Counting the first numbered point as corresponding to the *accessus*, these could have been John's nine books. He may have intended longer treatment in separate books of the relics and Sainte Chapelle, listed as points (ii) and (iii), which were key elements of Louis' preparations for crusade. John's long digression on the sea emphasises the risks involved in mounting a maritime expedition. Numbered points (iv)-(x) follow the order and subject matter of books 3–8. Neither the numbering of the points in the two lists nor the selection of topics coincides.

Some earlier episodes, notably Henry III's invasion of Poitou in 1242, are repetitive. And while many component parts are carefully honed, clearly time was not taken to edit them into a seamless whole. The content suggests further possible reasons for haste. John hints at his own mortality, failing health and uncomfortable old age,[21] though in the event he lived at least to write *Exempla Honeste Vite* in 1258. We also know from other sources that Louis IX's defeat led to questioning of faith and to serious popular unrest, manifested in 1251 in the crusade of the Pastoureaux.[22]

As already noted, several passages read as though they were written in anticipation of Louis IX's confidently expected victory in the Holy Land. The king's defeat was as sudden as it was unexpected, and John's account of it was written in some haste. The

19 *DTE*, 3, nn. 71 & 88.
20 *DTE*, 8.571–90.
21 *DTE*, 2.17, 7.403–04 & 491–92, 8.493–94 & 569–70.
22 See Jackson (2007), 175–77. On the Pastoureaux, see Barber (1984), and Jackson (2007), 179–93.

king and the Church lost no time in trying to explain events. The political imperatives of Louis' debacle emerge strongly in John's poem, though we do not know whether he was officially encouraged to finish quickly. *De triumphis* puts the most optimistic face on this contemporary catastrophe which jolted French society. It is an appeal for refreshed faith and renewed crusade, urgently overlaid on the unifying didactic theme — that the continuing weakness of Western Christendom lay in its chronic divisions, as well as its sinful state.

John's audience

It is worth asking to whom *De triumphis* is addressed. Only one manuscript survives; it is ironic that a work on which John expended such pains throughout his life should have been so little read or commented upon. It made no apparent impact on John's contemporaries and the unedited text lay undiscovered for so long. There are no references to it outside John's own writing until the seventeenth century. The manuscript has only three very minor glosses. As noted above, no individual addressee is identified in this poem.[23]

John addresses his readers several times, as either '*lectores*' or '*auditores.*'[24] On one occasion he harangues '*Doctores legis,*' / '*teachers of canon law,*'[25] to go and 'spread the words of the Cross.' In the *Exhortatio* he is appealing to potential crusaders, referred to as '*Crucesignati*' or '*Crucis baiuli.*' The crusading theme is supported throughout by passages on the imagery of the Cross.[26] John says he is writing to enlighten his '*socios*' /'friends' on '*res ignota*'/ 'unfamiliar subject matter,' at their persistent request.[27] It is impossible to rule out a purely rhetorical intent; but much of this is written with real passion. John's outrage at the excesses of war and at Western Christendom's inability to unite suggest a need to be heard. A similar sense emerges through his indignation at the scant rewards for his literary efforts and from his passionate religious outbursts.[28]

Perhaps the explanation lies in the text itself; even by contemporary standards, its style and language were accessible to few. The words are contrived and often archaic, and the messages, especially where candour might be unwise, are often ambiguous. In this regard, John hints that he is sailing dangerously near the wind. He compares

---

23 See pp. 25–26 above.

24 For '*lectores*' see Ch. 5, n. 3 below; '*audire*' was another word for '*studere,*' Weijers (1987) 283–86. John clearly expected his audience both to read his work, and to have it read to them. On the medieval expectation of listening rather than silent reading, see Clanchy (2013), esp. 268–72.

25 *DTE*, 8.532.

26 e.g., *DTE*, Preface.11–14, Prologue.13–14, 1.45–50, 2.580–600 and 862–93, 4.255–60, 8.117–18 & 147–65. See Gaposchkin (2017), 55–59 for the importance of the imagery of the Cross in crusading liturgy, and the role of that liturgy sustaining the momentum of crusading itself.

27 *DTE*, Prologue.1. '*Socii*' may just mean 'friends' or 'academic colleagues,' but in an academic context '*socii mei*' are often 'fellow students,' Weijers (1987), 168–69, 265–66.

28 *DTE*, 8.21–30.

himself with Ovid, Seneca and Boethius, who suffered official disfavour for their writings.[29] The poem is packed with literary allusions, and John's writing never wholly escapes that of the grammatical and rhetorical handbook. *Versus retrogradi,* leonines, rhetorical figures, and laborious etymologies do not make for fine poetry. It is in short addressed to the well-educated and politically aware. It seeks to reassure and exhort, but also to entertain John's peers, clerics and fellow-scholars.

29 *DTE*, 8.115–16, 123–34.

CHAPTER 4

Literary Influences and Sources

Just as the events in John's own life and in the world around him helped shape the content and composition of *De triumphis*, so the changing literary and cultural environment influenced its style.

The medieval epic tradition

Several major Latin epic poems were written in the late twelfth century. Now regarded as the most accomplished of their authors was Joseph of Exeter, whose *Bellum Troianum* was written in the 1180s, in hexameters of a pure late Silver Latin style. Other important examples were Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* (*c.* 1178–79), Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus* (*c.* 1182) and John of Hauteville's *Architrenius* (*c.* 1184), a celebrated account of the poverty of scholars.[1] Clerical writers in the thirteenth century were well-versed in the epic tradition of Vergil, Ovid, Statius and Lucan. They also knew the works of Homer via free adaptations into Latin.[2]

There was also a robust vernacular epic tradition. This began with the *Chanson de Roland*, though John's knowledge of that particular story seems to come exclusively via the Latin version *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (Pseudo-Turpin).[3] This tradition continued with stirring accounts of the First Crusade, like the *Chanson d'Antioche*. Several Latin epics also covered the First Crusade. Gilo of Paris wrote the *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* largely in hexameters early in the twelfth century, and there were other First Crusade epics through the twelfth century.[4] After returning from the Third Crusade in the 1190s, Joseph of Exeter wrote a crusade epic, *Antiocheis*, now mostly lost. Other Latin poems were also written about the Third Crusade.[5] So too was the Old French '*L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte.*'

---

1 See bibliography for editions of these works.

2 See Bate, *Joseph of Exeter: Trojan War I–III* (Oxford, 1986), Intro., 14–21 for the Latin sources of the Homeric myths. These were extremely popular, as references in *De triumphis* show. See also Susan Edgington's forthcoming essay, 'Echoes of the Iliad: the Trojan war in Latin Epics of the First Crusade', in L. Ní Chléirigh & N. R. Hodgson eds., *Sources for the Crusades: Textual Tradition and Literary Influences* (Abingdon: Routledge, forthcoming).

3 *DTE*, 3.327–36, 5.181–95. Another medieval Latin account of the Roland story was the anonymous thirteenth century *Carmen de proditione Guenonis*, written in distichs.

4 E.g. Metellus of Tegernsee's *Expeditio Ierosolimitana* in mid-century, and Gunther of Pairis' *Solimarius*, *c.* 1186.

5 See Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade* (Aldershot, 1997), Intro., 5.

By the time of John's longer poems, the literary tide had turned. 'The middle ages produced only one Joseph of Exeter,' Raby tells us, 'We have reached the beginnings of the thirteenth century… The truth is that Latin secular poetry had no longer any real reason for existing.'[6] The vernacular languages became the usual medium for large-scale poetry. *De triumphis Ecclesie* was already out of tune with evolving literary tastes. Its very form and style were a self-conscious defence of classical culture which John felt to be under threat in the schools of Paris.[7] Rhythm and rhyme were replacing the strict rules of classical prosody, and even the grammarian John of Garland did not rigorously follow the rules of scansion.

John was not a lone voice. Egidius Parisiensis presented five books of Latin hexameters, the *Karolinus*, to the future Louis VIII in 1200. It offered Charlemagne as an ancestor and model to the young prince. In 1225, William le Breton, chaplain to Philip II, produced the *Philippide*, an adulatory Latin epic in twelve books of hexameters. It is however difficult to discern direct literary influence of these works on *De triumphis,* or homage to their authors.

An elegiac epic

John clearly thinks of *De triumphis Ecclesie* as an epic. His analogies are with Vergil's Aeneid, and with Homer.[8] In *Parisiana Poetria,* John describes in some detail the late classical '*rota Virgilii,*'[9] which prescribes and illustrates different styles, roughly equating to the 'Aeneid,' 'Georgics' and 'Eclogues;' 'high,' 'middle' and 'low' to portray respectively '*curiles*'/ 'courtiers,' '*civiles*'/ 'city dwellers,' and '*rurales*'/ 'country folk.' He sees *De triumphis* as properly a '*carmen grande*'[10] and its subject matter as '*reges et bella,*'[11] The tragic Muse, Melpomene, draws him on to describe such glorious deeds, but he nevertheless chooses to write in elegiacs rather than hexameters, traditional for epic poetry. John's reasoning is that the unpleasantness of internecine war debases heroic deeds.[12] Elegiacs limp along with long and short lines, and are more suited to events which are sad, rather than tragic. John's tone is altogether more nuancé than William le Breton's, who saw hexameters as the only possible style for the heroic deeds he believed he was narrating.[13] *De triumphis* breaks the rules comprehensively, containing as it does epic tales from Arthur's England and Charlemagne's France,

---

6 Raby (1957), vol. 2, 341.

7 E.g. *MS*, 223, *DTE*, 4.343.

8 See Marguin-Hamon (2010) for a fuller account of parallels between *De triumphis* and the 'Aeneid', as part of her analysis of John's writing against the yardstick of his own 'principles of style.'

9 *PP*, 2.116–27. See also *Ad Herennium*, 4.8.11, for the rhetorical classification into three styles, '*unam gravem, alteram mediocrem, tertiam extenuatam.*'

10 *DTE*, 3.690–92.

11 *DTE*, 3.25–26. Cp. Horace, *AP*, 73, '*res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella*' are Homer's subject matter.

12 *DTE*, 3.3–4.

13 *Philippide*, 1.17–18.

current descriptions of rural life and court intrigue, and the almost slapstick account of John's encounters with low life during his escape from Toulouse.

Yet within this chosen metre and hybrid style, John injects variations in apparently random fashion, incorporating lines from songs and hymns, and from other works of his own. Leonine verses (with double internal rhymes)[14] appear, along with *versus retrogradi* / palindromes.[15] A section of prose is consciously introduced as a diversion for the reader at the end of Book 5.[16] The combination of verse and prose had influential precedents, notably Alan of Lille's *De Planctu Nature*, (1160s) but also the early *Cosmographia* (1140s) of Bernardus Sylvestris. Alliteration and puns are commonplace. So too is the whole range of rhetorical figures.[17] They serve to provide variety and demonstrate the poet's virtuosity. These conventionally include *Diminutio* / understatement;[18] John disparagingly compares himself with the most popular classical poets, Vergil, Ovid, Statius and Lucan 'as a dwarf following the footsteps of Hercules, perhaps as terebinth aping ivory.'[19]

John's literary sources

John knew these four classical epic poets intimately, and had recourse to the full range of the works of all four, especially Ovid and Vergil. As with medieval biblical references, 'quotation' is too strong a word for a process sometimes close to the often unconscious use of biblical or Shakespearean phrases in modern English. The following table lists the frequency of references[20] which I have identified to the works of classical authors:-

Ovid (59)	Metamorphoses (20), *Fasti* (14), *Tristia* (7) *Amores* (7), *Remedia Amoris* (3) *Heroides* (3) *Elegiae* (2) *Epistolae ex Ponto* (2) *Ars Amatoria* (1)
Vergil (41)	Aeneid (29), Georgics (8), Eclogues (4)
Lucan (22)	*De Bello Civili* (22)
Horace (10)	Odes (4), *Ars Poetica* (3), *Sermones* (2), *Epistolae* (1)
Statius (8)	Thebaid (6), Achilleid (2)
Cicero (6)	*De Inventione* (2), *De Finibus* (1), *Aratea* (1), *Pro Ligario* (1), *Paradoxa Stoicorum* (1)

14 *DTE*, 2.691–711; 3.13–26; 5.147–228; 6.241–42. For a technical explanation of leonines, see Wright's introduction to *The 'Historia Regum Britannie' of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (Woodbridge, 1988–96), vol. 5, xciii–xcvi.

15 *DTE*, 2.715–19, 7.79–82 & 83–86.

16 *DTE*, 5.364–65.

17 *PP*, 6.71–393 is John's own catalogue of figures. See also the 'Index of Latin terms' in Copeland and Sluiter (2009), 922–37 for a useful list with definitions.

18 *PP*, 6.329–31.

19 *DTE*, 8.19–20.

20 There must be many more!

Suetonius and Seneca (4 each), Claudian (3), Juvenal and Curtius (2 each), Ammianus Marcellinus, Martial, Phaedrus, Propertius, Prosper Aquitanus, Livy, Persius Flaccus, Plautus, Pliny, Sallust and Valerius Maximus (1 each).

Not surprisingly, Biblical references also abound. John quotes from many of the books of both Old and New Testaments and Apocrypha. He also shows familiarity with Boethius and with the Church Fathers, quoting several times from Augustine, Eusebius, Gregory the Great and Bede, as well as from legal texts. The text shows recurrent traces of the liturgy, including hymns by Venantius Fortunatus.[21]

For his material on saints and martyrs John would have had a wide range of source material, either in original form or in *florilegia*. Many of his *exempla* show close correspondence of subject matter and language to the Dominican Jean de Mailly's *Abbreviatio in Gestis et Miraculis Sanctorum,* one of the hagiographies consolidated into the *Golden Legend*. This is dated by Maggione at 1243, though probably based on material already circulating.[22] Bartholomew of Trent is another likely source on saints' lives. On the early English and Irish saints, John sometimes used separate sources, here identified in footnotes.

John's debt to the encyclopedist, Isidore of Seville (*c.* 560–636) is evident.[23] Isidore was widely read throughout medieval times. His thirteenth century successor, the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais was John's close contemporary. Close to Louis IX, he was writing at the Cistercian abbey of Royaumont when John was in Paris in the 1240s. He was assisted by both Benedictines and Dominicans.[24] In that Vincent literally sought to encapsulate human knowledge, some overlap of subject matter was inevitable. At least for contemporary events there is little indication that John used his work, though at some point in the evolution of this text, probably early on, John considered writing *De triumphis Ecclesie* as a universal history.[25] If he ever started it, only the first few lines of Book 6 remain, uncharacteristically cataloguing the events and natural phenomena of 1229 like a Chronicle.[26]

Although John once misquotes Gildas, in fact referring to Nennius,[27] he relied mainly on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*[28] for substantial digressions on the early history of England, particularly the reign of King Arthur. This was written in the early twelfth century, and was hugely popular in France and England. He will also have known the anonymous *Gesta Regum Britannie,* a Latin verse paraphrase. For early French history, he used the widely-circulated twelfth-century forgery *Turpini Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi,*[29] now known as Pseudo-Turpin.

---

21 See Gaposchkin (2017), 55–56.
22 JdeM, Intro, xi.
23 *DTE*, 1.395–96, 4.147.
24 See Le Goff (2009), 475–478.
25 *DTE*, Prologue.99–100.
26 *DTE*, 6.1–14.
27 *DTE*, 2.617.
28 See Bibliography.
29 See Bibliography.

John acknowledges his debt to Alan of Lille, whom he questionably rates 'greater than Vergil and more reliable than Homer.'[30] John opens the poem with a foretaste of its contents and the trick to be worked by his couplets, '*Gaudia succumbunt lacrimis, risusque dolori.*' John pays Alan the literary compliment both here and at *DTE*, 8.40, of closely paraphrasing the *incipit* of *De Planctu Nature, 'In lacrymas risus, in fletum gaudia verto.'* His account of 'Venus's *chimera*' derives directly from the same work.[31] There are references elsewhere to Alan's works, and echoes of his attacks on heretics and Jews, though remarkably given the many targets of John's spleen, not on homosexuals. Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Nova Poetria* was a powerful influence on John's *Parisiana Poetria*, bur he was not a contemporary and there are no signs of his direct influence on *De triumphis*. Of this earlier generation of schoolsmen, John also refers to John Beleth (*c.* 1135–82), and uses his works.[32] In the *Epithalamium*[33] he acknowledges the influence of Thomas of Chobham and William of Auxerre on his poetry. His interests also extended to science and philosophy. He pays lavish tribute elsewhere to another Paris contemporary, Alexander of Hales, an English theologian and philosopher who died in 1245.[34]

John was undoubtedly also familiar with vernacular poetry. The Occitan *Cansó de la crozada* clearly informed his account of the Albigensian Crusade, although his own anecdotes of the lecherous Bishop of Albi and of his own adventures on the Garonne are lively and self-contained, reflecting the vernacular tradition of fabliaux. In *Parisiana Poetria* too he uses the fabliau 'Guinehochet,' and quotes it in Old French. He uses another Old French fabliau as model for his example of Latin tragedy in the same work.[35]

History and rhetoric

John saw himself as historian as well as poet. He adopts Clio, Muse of History, as his Muse for non-historical writing as well,[36] and claimed to be writing for posterity.[37] He conventionally[38] describes his approach in the Prologue, 'I give priority to what is before our eyes, rather than the many events of the past; to what I have

30 *DTE*, 4.205–06.
31 See p. 62 below.
32 *DTE*, 1.411, 2. 583 & 880.
33 *EBVM*, 10.477–82.
34 *De Misteriis*, 641–58. For a biographical list of theology Masters contemporary with John in Paris, see Young (2014), 216–31. Marenbon (2007), 205–30 offers a valuable account of the increasingly Aristotelian (despite the ban) intellectual climate in the Paris *studium.* See also Gorochov (2012) *passim.*
35 *PP*, 4.422–61 & 7.28–153 respectively. See also R. Bonvicino, ed. & trans. (Italian), *Due lotrice di Giovanni de Garlandia*, in F. Bertini ed., *Tragedie Latine del XII e XIII Secolo* (Genoa, 1994), 283. For Fulk's poetry, see *DTE*, 5, n. 76.
36 *MS*, 223.
37 *DTE*, 2.771–72, 7.500.
38 See, for example, William of Tyre's Prologue, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, ed. Huygens (1986, Turnhout).

witnessed rather than heard about, certainties rather than things that are in doubt, evidence-based rather than vague.'[39] In practice he witnessed only a tiny proportion of the events he narrates. His stated intention is to use history to demonstrate the inevitability of the Church's victory. He will use many examples to clear the fog which obscures this ('*res ignota*').[40] Although the classical Roman historians were available, it is overwhelmingly the poets whose language he borrows. John jumps disconcertingly from event to event, but as Rigg points out, this may be deliberate compliance with rhetorical theory that strictly chronological accounts are boring. The result is confusing, but, as Rigg observed, 'the real problem is that contemporary history is unfinished.'[41]

History, like poetry, was not taught as a separate subject in the medieval syllabus.[42] Each was a sub-set of rhetoric; hence John approached both in that context. He defines history as 'an act remote from the memory of our age.' It employs *transitio,* which John defines as, *'*a figure whereby the mind of the listener with the aid of the preceding narration understands what is to come.'[43] So history has both a didactic and a predictive purpose. For John, it can be stretched to include events well within living memory, even contemporary. '*Historia*' must be distinguished from '*argumentum,*' or 'realistic fiction,' which narrates 'fictitious events which could nevertheless have happened' and '*fabula*' / 'fiction,' which 'contains events which are neither true nor give the impression of truth.'[44] '*Narratio*' / 'narrative' is 'an account of events which have taken place or seem to have taken place.'[45]

Classical rhetoric was another important influence, and John draws heavily on its principles, without making *De triumphis Ecclesie* a text-book model of any of its specific strands. He undoubtedly sets out to teach (*docere*), and to do so effectively by moving (*movere*) and pleasing (*delectare*) his readers.[46] In accord with the principles of rhetoric, John sets out in the Preface to 'render the audience benevolent, attentive and teachable.'[47] Teaching comprised both explaining events and their underlying causes,[48] and providing morally improving material. To these ends, John explicitly uses frequent digressions ('*excursus,*' '*digressio*') and case studies / '*exempla,*' 'Digression is perceived as adding piquancy to serious tales of morals, just as flavouring spices the courses of a meal.'[49]

---

39 *DTE*, Prologue.95–96.
40 *DTE*, Prologue.1.
41 *DTE*, Prologue.113–16, and Rigg (1992), 176.
42 Considerations of space preclude a full analysis of rhetorical aspects. Kempshall (2011) explains excellently how rhetorical theory evolved to classify and order historical writing.
43 *PP*, 5.321–25.
44 For John's definitions of the three types of narrative see *PP*, 5.317–330.
45 Lawler's translation of *PP*, 4.197–98, itself a direct paraphrase of Cicero, *De Inventione*, 1.19.27. See *DTE* 3.473–74 & 512 where John admits to fabricating battle scenes.
46 Kempshall (2011), 8–9 and n. 21. See also *PP*, 4.195–97.
47 See Preface, n. 5. For a list of authorities, see Kempshall (2011), 190, n. 264.
48 *DTE*, Prologue, 29–31.
49 *DTE*, *Prologue*.115–16*:* See also *DTE*, 4.201–02.

In his historical analyses, John shows his grasp of all three branches of rhetoric: judicial, demonstrative and deliberative.[50] The long sections devoted to Henry III's Poitou campaign are on the face of it a historical account, but also a case study of judicial rhetoric, weighing the rights of the Lusignans against the claims of the French crown and Alphonse of Poitiers, in a search for what is fair / *equum*. The account of the Albigensian Crusade similarly compares the rights and grievances of the Trencavel family, and later of the Counts of Toulouse, against the moral and legal authority of the crusaders. In both cases John shows understanding and sympathy to the defeated party, whilst clearly coming down on the side of the victors.

Demonstrative rhetoric was the art of praising or denigrating individuals.[51] There are short, laudatory passages on Richard I of England and King John, Philip II, Louis VIII and IX, William Marshal, John of London, Edmund of Canterbury, Alan of Lille, Peter of Castelnau, Simon de Montfort, Bishop Fulk of Toulouse and the legate Romano. John is reluctant to condemn people without showing some sympathetic understanding for their weaknesses. Traditional villains of Capetian literature, notably Raymond VI and Raymond VII of Toulouse, the Emperor Frederick II, Hugh X de Lusignan, King John and King Peter of Aragon are presented in a nuanced way. Their virtues are recognised. Popes, notably Honorius III and Innocent IV, and heroes, even Richard I and Louis IX are occasionally criticised. The only named male characters to receive heavy unmitigated criticism are Reginald of Pons and Louis IX's brother Alphonse. The un-named bishop of Albi in Book 5, and other anonymous bishops, flatterers, and charlatans are harshly berated.

John takes similarly robust views on the women in his narratives. The Virgin and the female saints are beyond criticism. He treats Blanche of Castile[52] with profound respect, but sees Eleanor of Aquitaine and Isabella of Angoulême as troublemakers.[53] Berengaria, Richard I's wife, and Louis IX's wife Margaret, who accompanied their husbands on crusade, receive no more than a passing mention. Nicolaa de la Haye is uniquely commended for her valour at the siege of Lincoln.[54]

The *Exhortatio de cruce suscipienda* (as well as the similar passage in *Parisiana Poetria*) is a clear example of deliberative rhetoric, strongly advocating crusade.[55] Indeed its underlying theme of Christian disunity and Anglo-French rivalry arguably turn the whole poem into a case study — passionate advocacy of political and military policies, culminating in an appeal to rally to Louis' aid in Outremer.

---

50 *Ad Herennium*, 1.1.2.

51 Kempshall (2011), 138–71.

52 *DTE*, 1.191, 8.169–70. John must have been aware of Blanche's alleged indiscretions, but does not refer to them, Grant (2016), 86 & n. 44; *CM*, 3.119. This is unsurprising in view of his proximity to the legate Romano.

53 *DTE*, 3.132, 1.296–300.

54 *DTE*, 3.276–78.

55 *PP*, 4.207–44.

Matthew Paris

John also used many contemporary sources for the events of his lifetime which form the historical substance of *De triumphis.* I examine these for the most part by topic in Chapters 5 to 9. Matthew Paris, however, merits separate consideration.

I have established strong circumstantial evidence from *De triumphis Ecclesie* of a close link of some kind between Matthew and John of Garland, or perhaps more accurately, between the *Chronica Maiora* and *De triumphis Ecclesie.* Either they had a common source, or John had access to Matthew's chronicle, directly or through a third party. I rule out Matthew depending on John.

The intuitive explanation would be that Matthew had lived in Paris (hence his name, *Parisiensis or de Parisius*); that he and John knew each other at least as students; and that Matthew had excellent contacts at the French court (hence his embassy from Louis IX to King Haakon of Norway and his access to French official documents). There is sadly no evidence for or against any such conclusions.

John and Matthew were close contemporaries. Vaughan's evidence for dating Matthew's birth around 1200 is that he died in 1259 and 'sixty must have been a ripe old age for a medieval monk.' He also says 'it seems probable that he did not receive his education at Paris, or indeed any other, university. His interests are not those of a university-educated clerk.' [and he would therefore have gone straight into the monastery aged 17]. The last year covered by the *Chronica Maiora* was 1259; John's last-known writing was in 1258. Matthew joined the Benedictine Abbey of St Albans as a monk in 1217 and replaced Roger Wendover as archivist in 1236.[56] His 'characteristically British' outlook in no way precludes a Parisian education if his period of study was short and he returned to England from the Schools. Matthew's Latin suggests a reasonable knowledge of the classics. As for his age, many scholars over the last century have accepted the idea of Paetow's[57] eighty-year-old John of Garland without a murmur. Notwithstanding all this, the case for direct personal acquaintance cannot be proven. Nor indeed can a link through common ecclesiastical or aristocratic networks, though this remains a perfectly feasible explanation.

There are nevertheless numerous instances from the period 1236–52 where John and the *Chronica Maiora* uniquely report an incident, where their language and attitudes are very similar, especially where they pick out the same individuals for praise or censure. It is hard not to conclude that these cases are too frequent to be coincidental. They are referenced individually in the footnotes to this edition, and not catalogued here. The connection appears strongest during the main episodes covered by John in the later part of the narrative, the Saintonge War and the Mongol invasions, both in 1241–42, and the Seventh Crusade.

Some of these cross-references are striking. In their respective accounts of Henry III's invasion of Poitou, both John and Matthew single out for mention the

---

56 For Matthew's life, see Vaughan (1958), 1–11.

57 See p. 24 above.

bravery of Ralph Fitz-Nicolas, Roger Bigod, William Longespée II and Simon de Montfort in the battle of Saintes.[58] Both refer to the treachery of Reginald of Pons and the bishop of Saintes, and to the curious story of Richard de Clare's horse (and his absence from the battle).[59] Both too recount the exchange of Henry of Hastings for John des Barres.[60] Many other details tally, not least descriptions of Hugh X de Lusignan's defensive measures against the French, his personal qualities, and his death at Damietta in 1249.[61]

In their lurid descriptions of the Mongols too there are many points of similarity, though both refer to clerical eye-witnesses and could have worked from mutual clerical sources.[62] The most striking example is the alleged Jewish collaboration with the Mongols, which is mentioned only by John and Matthew, together with reference to Jewish anticipation of the Messiah. Both also refer to a victory over the Mongols on or near the Danube in 1241; both say the Mongols came from the North.

For his account of the Seventh Crusade, John appears to have had access to the 'Letter from Gui, household knight of the Viscount of Melun, to Master B of Chartres,' included in the *Additamenta* to the *Chronica Maiora.* John and the letter say that Louis IX's destination was Alexandria and not Damietta, and that only one crusader, Hugh X de la Marche, died in battle at Damietta. Both respectively describe the opposing forces as '*piratica turba*' and '*piratae,*' and Damietta as '*vacuata.*' Both John and Matthew refer glowingly to the courage of William Longespée II, hacked to pieces at Mansourah;[63] another letter in the *Additamenta,* the so-called 'Letter from a Templar,' hails him as a martyr. John makes a virtue of the fifteen-year truce made in 1251 between Louis and the Egyptians against the Sultan of Aleppo, reported in another letter in the *Additamenta*, dated 6 May 1252, and also recorded by Matthew.[64] Matthew himself relies extensively on the documentary evidence of these letters in his chronicle. We do not know how he obtained them, though they are not now extant elsewhere. For the Seventh Crusade at least John could theoretically also have had direct access to them, rather than via Matthew Paris.

There are other similarities to the *Chronica Maiora.* Both John and Matthew give extensive coverage to the life and death of Edmund of Canterbury, including miracles effected by his *pallium.*[65] John singles out Hugh de Lacy for mention in the Albigensian Crusade; Matthew later gives him the epitaph of '*bellator nominatissimus.*'

---

58 *DTE*, 3.429–30, 455–60.

59 *DTE*, 2.815–24, 3.655–56, 3.445–46 respectively.

60 *DTE*, 3.624.

61 *DTE*, 1.287–92, 3.530–43 sq.; 1.325.

62 On the 'Jewish plot' see *DTE*, 7.89–94, and pp. 85-86 below. On clerical sources, see *DTE*, 7.32 & *CM*, 4.270–77 (Ivo of Narbonne), *MGH SS*, 29 547–67 (*Rogerii Miserabile Carmen*), Thomas of Spalato also wrote in graphic language, *MGH SS*, 29, 585–95.

63 *CM*, 6 (*Add*).191–97, 5, 147–54, 166–7 &196, Jackson (2007), 99–103.

64 *DTE*, 8.517–18, *CM*, 5.305–06, 147–54, &159, and 6 (*Add.*), 205–07, Jackson (2007), 212-1 . See also Lloyd (1991) & Lloyd & Hunt (1992), and Paul (2013), 162–5, for a fuller treatment.

65 *DTE*, 7.185–206; *CM*, 4.72–73 & 324–29.

They have a common interest in tournaments and both refer to '*mensa rotunda*' as a type of tournament.[66] Both confidently expect campaigning by the English and Spanish against the Muslims after the Seventh Crusade.[67] But while the cumulative evidence strongly suggests a link, it must remain speculative.

De triumphis Ecclesie as literature

De triumphis Ecclesie is not great literature, but as I shall argue it has its good points. Even before Wright's edition, Le Clerc concluded that the poem was entirely lacking in literary merit. Nevertheless: 'Les futurs historiens des croisades feront bien de ne point négliger ces récits, dont nul n'a encore profité… ….Parmi tous les défauts du temps, … …ils trouveront du moins quelques échos de l'opinion contemporaine.'[68]

Wright himself wrote: 'The style of John de Garlande is ambitious and pedantic, and displays the schoolman vain of his accomplishments. His language, though now and then we have a few good lines, is far inferior to that of the scholastic Latin poets of the preceding century, and is full of grammatical conceits and puns, and plays upon words and rhymes. Its author affects, above all things, a great facility in the use of all the quaint and fantastical embellishments of Latin metre …these defects of style often render the meaning obscure, while, as a whole, the poem is broken, and confused by frequent digressions.'[69]

After Wright's edition, scholars continued to excoriate John's style, especially in *De triumphis Ecclesie.* Hauréau remarked, 'Mais on ne comprend pas Jean de Garlande qui, pour avoir longtemps affecté d'être obscur, en a contracté l'habitude.'[70] Even an admirer such as Paetow finds *De triumphis* 'confused and bizarre.'[71]

More recent scholars have tried to place John's literary style and composition in a broader context. Raby said in 1953 that John was 'above all else a teacher.'[72] Rigg observed: 'Modern preferences for simple diction and coherent stories are inappropriate in the case of a writer whose principal aim was to introduce vocabulary and recherché expressions.'[73] John was quite evidently a grammarian and pedagogue, wholly committed to perpetuating classical learning. He tried to combine the subject-matter and epic sweep of Vergil with the versification of Ovid and the rhetorical techniques of Cicero in describing contemporary events and religious passions and prejudices. By the time he committed all this to parchment the central event it was meant to celebrate had turned into a disaster. It is small wonder that John's ambitious poem

66 *DTE*, 3.284; *CM*, 5.318.
67 *DTE*, 8.491–92; *CM*, 5.170 & 231–32.
68 Le Clerc (1852), 81.
69 Wright (1856), xi.
70 Hauréau (1877), 71.
71 Paetow, *MS* Intro., 110.
72 Raby (1953), 386.
73 Rigg (1992), 163.

fizzles out limply, and that his execution fell short of his own models of excellence. The text is made less obscure, however, through new interpretations, emendation, repunctuation, and reordering

That said, Wright had a point. Now and then John does have a 'few good lines', even for a modern reader. His descriptions of rural desolation and of poor people on crusade (however historically unsound) are written with genuine emotion.[74] His coverage of the Albigensian Crusade has several moving passages, including the capture of Béziers and Carcassonne, the death of Peter of Aragon at Muret, the dramatic siege of Toulouse and death of Simon de Montfort. The grotesquerie of the Mongols is graphic, if not unique, just as John's escape up the Garonne in 1232 is entertaining and oddly risqué. Some of the digressions catch the reader's imagination, such as the vivid description of the hazards of sea voyages, or John's chilling medical analyses of old age and the epidemic which struck Louis IX's army at Blaye (1242).[75] The sincerity of his feelings, whether religious devotion, outrage or petty spite, still shines through.

74 *DTE*, 7.437–42.

75 Sea voyages, *DTE*, 2.263–70 & 327–78, 8.231–38; old age, *DTE*, 7.349–52; plague, *DTE*, 3.669–78.

CHAPTER 5

John's Teaching and Preaching

Unlike John's other works, part of *De triumphis Ecclesie* is directly autobiographical. He gives extensive coverage in Books 5 and 6 to his time in Toulouse, during the years 1229–1232, including unique material on the new *studium* there. John's working life covered the period when organisations recognisable as universities were emerging as important institutions in medieval Europe. This section places John's career in that wider context.

Studia generalia and the medieval curriculum

'The university of Paris grew; it was not founded.'[1] Like similar groups of scholars in Bologna and Oxford, the collectivity ('*universitas*') of Scholars and Masters in Paris gradually coalesced over the second half of the twelfth century. These centres, or *studia generalia,* could attract scholars from all over Europe, and offered the possibility of pursuing advanced studies in some or all of theology, canon law and medicine.[2] The core curriculum comprised the *trivium* of classical times, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, along with the *quadrivium,* arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy, together comprising the seven liberal arts.

The *studium* in Paris received its first institutional guidance from Philip II in 1200. Statutes, now lost, were formulated before 1208–09. The statutes of 1215, promulgated by the papal legate, Robert de Courçon, established that before a Scholar could teach as a Master of Arts, he must have attended lectures for at least six years and be at least twenty-one years old. Licences to teach were granted by the Chancellor of Notre Dame Cathedral, and the new statutes attempted to provide fair selection. Masters committed to teach for at least two years. A Scholar must be attached to a particular Master, and Masters lived from students' fees in a competitive environment.[3] Before becoming a Master himself, a Scholar must first become a Bachelor of Arts. The statutes also prescribed the syllabus for the arts faculty and prolonged the episcopal ban of 1210[4] on the teaching of Aristotle's works on metaphysics or natural science. They imposed rules for the good behaviour of Scholars and Masters,

1 Ferruolo (1985), 282.

2 Wei (2012), 88–89, Verger (1992), 35–37). For a broader picture of Paris, and a full bibliography, see Verger (2006), especially 185–287, Weijers (2015), and Gorochov (2016), *passim*.

3 Masters would 'read'/ '*legere*' prescribed texts. '*Lectio*' 'consiste essentiellement en une *expositio* du texte et des thèmes qu'il contient, accompagnée d'une mise en lumière des divisions principales et des subdivisions,' Weijers (1987), 325.

4 *CUP*, 1, 70–71.

and responsibilities on the *studium* to enforce them, as well as granting legal rights and protections. It was increasingly possible to pursue a career of teaching in this more structured environment, and there was a steady demand for Masters in the growing centralised bureaucracies of Church and state.[5] We do not know whether John qualified as a Master under the 1215 statute or earlier,[6] or whether he held any clerical post in Paris to supplement his fee income.

Within the *studium*, an untidy matrix of other corporate entities was developing. From at least the 1220s, Masters and Scholars from France, England, Picardy and Normandy formed national communities, called *nationes*.[7] Again, we do not know whether John was a member of the English *natio.* Membership criteria were not rigid, and he may have felt thoroughly French by the time he returned to Paris from Toulouse in 1232. The Faculty of Arts itself evolved as a legal entity, with responsibility for maintaining a list of approved regent (teaching) Masters. In other poems too,[8] notably *Morale Scolarium*, John attacks it for its neglect of the classical languages. We have no evidence, from either before or after John's time in Toulouse, that John was an approved member of the Faculty's list of regent masters. Grondeux and Marguin point out that nowhere among John's works or attributed to him is a commentary on either Priscian or Donatus, the only two writers prescribed in the grammar curriculum.

Stability was only relative, and tension remained high between the academic community and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. John notes the attack on the legate Romano in 1225; he records laconically the bar fight in 1229 which led to violence, intervention authorised by the regent Blanche of Castile, arbitrary and immediate retribition, and the exodus of Masters and Scholars. 'The Paris *studium* was bloodily dispersed.'[9] Many of them went to Angers and Orléans, where new academic communities were formed; John pays tribute to the classical tradition of Orléans.[10] Teaching was not restored in Paris until 1231. Gregory IX's bull '*Parens scientiarum*' reaffirmed the rights, responsibilities and authority of the Masters and Scholars and made explicit what may have already been the status quo, that there was a direct link between the educational process and preaching the Christian faith.

The *studium* at Toulouse

Unlike those in Angers and Orléans, the *studium generale* in Toulouse[11] was set up by political decision, as a condition imposed on Raymond VII of Toulouse by Louis IX

---

5 See Baldwin (1982).

6 See 21–22 above.

7 On the *nationes*, see Wei (2012), 111–13. Gabriel (1969), 25 says 'John, along with Robert Grosseteste, became a prominent leader of the English.'

8 For John's contempt of current teaching, and of the vernacular, see e.g. *MS*, 340–44, *DTE*, 3.191–92.

9 *DTE*, 6.3. Gorochov (2016), 405-445 gives a full account .

10 *DTE*, 6.5–6, *AL*, 1515–20.

11 See Rashdell (1936), vol. 3, 160–66 and De Ridder-Symoens (1992), vol. 1, *passim*, especially Verger (1992), for a general account of the Toulouse *studium* at this time.

in the Treaty of Paris.[12] The defeated count was obliged to fund this new institution intended to counter the influence of heresy in the city and surrounding area. Under the supervision of the papal legate, Romano, Élie Guerin, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Grand Selve, selected Masters from Paris — conveniently available on account of the strike — to teach in Toulouse. Fourteen posts were to be remunerated by Raymond for ten years, four theologians, two canon lawyers, six Masters of Arts and two regent Masters in grammar.[13] Pope Honorius had made an earlier appeal in 1217 to the *universitas* of Masters and Scholars in Paris to go to Toulouse '*qui causam Dei agentes ex animo lectioni, predicationi et exhortationi vigilanter insistant, . . . ita quod populum acceptabilem Deo reddant.*'[14] On both occasions volunteers were promised full remission of sins, and in 1229 Romano further incentivised them with generous gifts.[15] He seems to have taken them in a group, breaking the journey with a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Rocamadour.[16]

We know that John was one of the salaried masters chosen,[17] and it has always been assumed from the subject matter and pedantry of much of his writing that he was one of the two grammarians, unusually in Toulouse separate from the arts faculty. But he tells us nothing about his own teaching and he could conceivably have been a teacher of arts more generally.[18]

The first home of the new clergy was the small church of St Julian, outside the walls of the Bourg, to the north of the city. John was also familiar with the church of the Dominicans, to which his colleague the theologian Roland of Cremona[19] was attached. John makes clear his admiration for the Cistercian and former troubador Fulk, bishop of Toulouse (1205–31), initially in charge of the *studium*.[20] '*Pravos extirpat et doctor, et ignis, et ensis; / Falcat eos Fulco praesul in urbe sacer*' / 'The man of letters, fire and the sword root out the malefactors; Fulk ('the reaper'), consecrated bishop in the city, scythes them down.'[21] John reports with relish a notorious incident, in

12 For the text of the Treaty of Paris of 12 April, 1229 see C. Devic, & J. Vaissète eds. *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1879), vol. 8, 883–93, trans. Sibly & Sibly, WP, Appendix C, 138–44. For an affectionate account of John's contribution to Toulouse University, see Gatien-Arnaud (1866). For more recent surveys of its early days, see Smith (1958), Dossat (1970), Bonnassie & Pradalié (1979), Gorochov (2016), 432-37.

13 The respective stipends (in silver marks) were: theology, 50; law, 30; arts, 20; grammar 10.

14 *CUP*, 1, 83–84. See 23–24 above for the possibility that John had responded to this appeal or had in any case been to Toulouse before. He describes the 1229 *studium* as new, *DTE*, 5.270.

15 *DTE*, 5. 274.

16 *DTE*, 5. 275–302.

17 *DTE*, 6.197.

18 He shows detailed knowledge of *computus* and music in this part of *De triumphis.*

19 Roland of Cremona was the first Paris regent Master from one of the mendicant orders, 1229–30, which ignored the strike, Marenbon (2007), 210. He was an Aristotelian expert, Hasse (2000), 36, with an extant '*Summa Theologica,*' and a likely influence on John. On the geography of medieval Toulouse and its parishes, see Mundy (2006), 10–11. On St. Julian's and the Dominican churches, see *DTE*, 5, 303–04, 6.191–94.

20 *DTE*, 5.259–70, 6.15–16.

21 *DTE*, 5.257–58.

which Roland of Cremona burned an alleged heretic's house, then exhumed his body, carried it through the streets and burned that too.[22]

The verse text of *De triumphis* describes the curriculum taught at the *studium.* John's 'tree of knowledge' description is largely replicated in the most ambitious illustration of the manuscript, contemporary with the text.[23] Further details are provided at the end of Book 5, in the prose 'open prospectus', of which John is widely believed on stylistic grounds to have been the author, especially since it is signalled in the verse text as a diversion for the bored reader.[24] John describes how instruction ('*doctrina*') cuts back the weeds and revives the roses. Knowledge is divided between eloquence and philosophy;[25] in line with tradition and John's priorities, eloquence prevails; of its three branches, grammar comes first, then logic and rhetoric ('the thyme flavouring'). Philosophy is either practical, in the shape of ethics at the level of state, family and individual or theoretical, as theology, mathematics and natural science. John praises theologians ('*divinis*') and commends '*fisim*' / 'natural science' to them. John sees the other theoretical branch, mathematics, as the base discipline for arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy, the elements of the *quadrivium,* in that order. Music however is unusually given a leading role —'*musica cuncta ligat.*' John further subdivides it along Boethian lines into '*mundana,*' '*humana*' and '*instrumentalis.*' The Toulouse *studium* appears to have focused on performed rather than theoretical music. Instrumental music (which included the human voice) unites three strands, melody, metre and rhythm; harmony itself comprises the enharmonic, chromatic and diatonic, respectively suited, according to John's own narrative, to study, dancing and being played on trumpets.[26]

The erudite 'prospectus'[27] has attracted more academic interest than other parts of the poem.[28] Its description of the friendly local people sits ill with the tough tactics of the clergy and of their eviction from the city in 1232. It does however offer interesting amplification of the academic regime on offer; most notably, the scientific works of Aristotle were to be permitted reading, in explicit contrast to the Parisian regime. Similarly, the study of Roman law was allowed, whilst only canon law could be studied at Paris. Medicine was taught, and Galen read out '*a lateribus*'/ 'from the side.' The northern French musical style of *organum*[29] was introduced. John also tells us that more soothing strains calmed the passions of the crowd, which had previously favoured the diatonic style best suited to trumpets. The 'prospectus' also describes the protections put in place by the count for the members of the *studium.*

---

22 See Book 6, n. 22. This episode is also reported by William Pelhisson, a Dominican working in Toulouse from 1230, William Pelhisson, ed. Douais, 88.

23 *DTE*, 6, 33–56, of which lines 49–56 are about music. See Plate 7, p. 301.

24 *DTE*, 5.363–64.

25 Cicero, *De Inventione*, 1.1.

26 Jeserich (English, 2013), 264–65 translates lines *DTE*, 6.31–58.

27 At the end of Book 5.

28 Gatien-Arnoult (1866), Paetow, *MS*, Introduction, 90–91, C. E. Smith (1958), 1–55. Dossat (1970), 182–83, Schmidt (1998a), Gorochov (2016), 432-25.

29 *DTE*, 5.414, & n. 121.

It is impossible to tell from John's account what the balance was between teaching and preaching. He tells us that the theologians instructed their pupils from pulpits ('*pulpitis*'), and the general public at crossroads ('*compitis*'). He himself kept a book 'about hope and faith', bound together with the Acts of the Apostles with St Peter on the first page. He used to give them the drift ('*tenorem*'), 'with a certain brevity,' if we are to believe him. But the heretical people of Toulouse 'held the saints and holy writ in contempt.'[30] John complains that enlightening *exempla* such as he includes in the poem elicited sniggering and desecration from the local people.[31]

For whatever reason, the *studium* failed. John reports that the payment of salaries became unreliable and '*cuncta negans livor cepit habere locum.*'[32] He says this immediately after noting the arrival of the Dominican Raymond de Falgar as bishop after Fulk's death in 1231. The community of the thriving *studium* slipped away, and John was an early leaver. William Pelhisson bears out John's account, 'For just at the moment when the Church thought to have peace in that land, heretics and their believers girded themselves more and more for numerous ventures and stratagems against her and against Catholics, with the result that the heretics did more harm by far in Toulouse and that region than they had even during the war.'[33] William observed that the *studium* was 'ineffective in uprooting heresy; rather, heretical individuals, regarding them with hostility and hearing unfamiliar things, mocked at them in manifold ways.' In fact in 1233 Pope Gregory IX re-established the *studium* under Dominican responsibility.[34] Whether the Dominicans themselves undermined the earlier *studium* it is impossible from existing evidence to know.

Tall tales on the Garonne

John describes his escape from Toulouse in graphic and lurid language.[35] This short passage is unique in his works, and strongly reflects the spirit, if not the metre, of the vernacular fabliaux, with their humour, sexual content and *double entendre*. John writes of the chimera of Venus in a way which suggests that his audience was already familiar with the good and bad Venuses of Alan of Lille's *De Planctu Nature.* He denounces adultery, but does not echo Alan's pervasive homophobia. He also brings a light touch to Alan's moralistic prurience, even if ultimately John turns his anecdote too into a homily. These lines feel like a separate poem, written at the time or shortly after and later incorporated in the main text.[36]

---

30 *DTE*, 6.71–76.
31 *DTE*, 6.189–90.
32 *DTE*, 6.198.
33 William Pelhisson, ed. Douais, 83–84.
34 Fournier (1890–92), vol. 1, no. 506.
35 *DTE*, 6.200–254.
36 See *DTE*, 6. nn. 74 & 75.

John successfully boarded a boat on the Garonne, hoping to go northwards to Moissac, a small port where pilgrims to Santiago de Compostella visited the abbey and crossed the river. The boatman however tried to divert to Castelsarrasin, where John feared the attentions of an '*impia turba.*' John, surely even he tongue in cheek, paralysed the boatman for an hour by pointing to a shield-shaped cloud and claiming it was a sign of God's avenging presence. This was long enough for returning pilgrims to rescue him and secure his passage to Moissac. An '*impia manus,*' perhaps the same one, robbed and set fire to some cottages next morning.

At this point it does seem that John may have been inveigled into a scam, perpetrated by a thief and his female accomplice. Whatever might or might not have happened, John unleashes a violent and obscene denunciation of the 'chimera of Venus,' and of the wickedness of adultery, very closely modelled on the opening passage of Alan of Lille's '*De Planctu Nature.*'[37] These lines might be no more than a generic attack on the same 'bad Venus' as Alan's. But lines 6.239–40 and 251–52 in particular strongly suggest that this was a personal experience, or at least an account of what John witnessed. The best protection from temptation, John tells the reader, is to look and to be godly, and to strum one's lyre. Whether he was a victim, or just highly suggestible, we may never know. We are however told that after a trying journey John arrived safely in Paris with the pilgrims, presumably some time in 1232 or even 1233.

37 See also *DTE*, Preface.1. John obviously greatly admired *De Planctu Nature.*

CHAPTER 6

'*Arma crucemque cano*'

Church and Crusade

De triumphis Ecclesie as a devotional work

Whatever his earthly audience, John also wrote this poem to satisfy his inner needs, and turned it into a religious offering, pitched at his own salvation. 'Praise for Christ, praise for Mary, praise for the Cross, the victory of the Church, its crown, its glory, [all] compel me to write.'[1] He writes, 'Blessed Mary, look at me, John, in my wretchedness. Hear me, give me new life, wash me, wipe me dry, keep me warm.'[2] 'Clio cannot concoct overblown eulogies for heroes, but I seek my consolation through frequent praise for the holy Cross. That will be my reward, and the joyful laurel wreath for my work ('*studium*').'[3] The intensity of some devotional passages, especially those addressed to the Virgin Mary, indicates that this was a personal offering of devotion, reinforcing his earlier *Epithalamium* and *Stella Maris.* John's reward is to have sung the praises of God, the Virgin and the Cross.[4] Mary is the antithesis of Eve, blamed conventionally by John for the inherent wickedness of women.[5] Several female saints and martyrs nevertheless feature in John's numerous *exempla*, many with French associations.

Yet the immediacy of the later writing covering the Seventh Crusade and its focus on the future, as well as John's analytical approach to the past causes of present ills, reinforce the conclusion that this poem's prime focus was external.

Pope, cardinals, bishops and priests

John's intense spirituality does not cloud a pragmatic and sometimes critical view of the contemporary Church. Most notably, he sees clearly the steady moral and spiritual leadership which the pope should display. At the outset[6] John announces the crusading cause as that of '*pape solliciti*' (Innocent IV). He tells us that the pope holds the keys of St Peter and the sword of St Paul, whilst commanding Peter's barque and holding it on a steady course; 'breaking up the storms, he seeks out safe shores

1 *DTE,* Preface.33–34.
2 *DTE*, 5.5–6.
3 *DTE*, 8.26–28.
4 Holtz (2012) admirably brings out John's devotion to the Virgin in the *Epithalamium* and *Stella Maris*. Much of what he says applies to *De triumphis*, especially on John's use of language.
5 See *DTE*, 8, n. 181.
6 On the basis of the amended lines 3–4 of the Preface. See Preface, n. 3.

by his strenuous efforts.'[7] 'We are asleep in the boat so long as he [the pope] is at the helm;'[8] 'The fathers of the Church cannot go wrong provided they follow the path of wisdom,' and it is the pope's duty to 'defend the rights of Christ.'[9] The cardinals' task is likewise to steer the course of the ship and of the condition ('*statum*') of the Church.[10] Equally it is the role of knights, not churchmen, to use military force to protect the Church when spiritual weapons fail.[11] The pope and the Church should strive for peace. But the pope must not be afraid to wield the sword of canon law and convene military force against the enemies of the Church.

John does however criticise Innocent IV directly for weakness and lack of preparedness in dealing with the threat of the Mongols, using the pejorative '*Paterculus*' /'Popeling.' Again the language is ambiguous but John clearly suggests that the pope is asleep on the job and giving priority to his own interests by fighting Frederick II rather than mobilising Christians against the Mongols.[12] He is critical of how bishops were selected, on the basis of pedigree, backed up by wealth and military force, all in preference to learning.[13] And John urges the pope to resist the criticism of the uninformed and malicious by rejecting ill-based territorial claims.

Elsewhere in *De triumphis* John comments on the Church as a working institution. Its triumphs are of course his theme. The true hero of his epic is not the papacy, or Innocent IV, or Louis IX but the Cross, a proxy for the institution of the Church itself; '*Arma crucemque cano.*'/ 'I sing of arms and the Cross.'[14] John extends the loose analogy with the *Aeneid* by treating the Virgin as a guardian deity, just as Vergil portrays Venus. His elaborate descriptions of the symbolism of the Cross in *De triumphis* can be seen as complementary to his short treatise on the physical symbolism of the church itself, '*Carmen de misteriis Ecclesie*,' written in 1245 during the Council of Lyon.[15] They are also paralleled in the *Epithalamium.*

John acknowledges a few other outstanding leaders of the Church and pays tribute to them. They are, in no particular order, the legate Romano, Bishop Fulk of Toulouse and St Edmund of Canterbury (1180–1240). He clearly knew the first two personally whilst he was in Toulouse from 1229 to 1232. He may also have known the third, Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1233 to 1240, who taught in the schools of Oxford and Paris. He writes affectionately about him as teacher and priest.[16] The murdered (martyred) legate, Peter of Castelnau, whose death ostensibly sparked the Albigensian Crusade, receives a conventionally fulsome epitaph.[17]

---

7 *DTE*, 1.243, 8.545–46.
8 *DTE*, 2.10.
9 *DTE*, 5.213–16.
10 *DTE*, 8.547–49.
11 *DTE*, 4.261–66.
12 *DTE*, 7.123–26.
13 *DTE*, 2.643–46.
14 *DTE*, Preface.11.
15 *CME*, 649–54. For extensive references to the Cross see, e.g., *DTE*, 2.862–92, 8.153–168.
16 *DTE*, 7.185–210.
17 *DTE*, 4.59–66.

John does however have harsh words for bishops more generally. He holds the un-named bishop of Albi,[18] accused of seducing the crusading Count of Béziers' wife, as ultimately a cause of the Albigensian Crusade; both allegation and interpretation are unique. At the beginning of the Saintonge war in 1242, John accuses the bishops of collectively failing to stand up to the kings in resisting the ravages of war on the people and the Church. Certain bishops were guilty of using their power to enrich themselves, profiting from fomenting war. John denounces one anonymous bishop for corruptly dispensing largesse, with a total lack of taste and judgment (including neglect of the arts!). The same bishop happens to attack the English, but the bishops in general are susceptible to flattery, and taking sides in the war.[19] Even after the battle of Saintes, John again accuses them of standing in the way of peace.[20]

John roundly attacks 'the clergy' / '*clerus,*' by which in the context he clearly means the Church hierarchy, at the time of the Saintonge War and the capture of the bishops by Frederick in 1241. John accuses them of 'arguing the toss' ('*causatur*'), and the rich of indulging their own stomachs. Who is guarding over the pope?[21]

John portrays the Church itself and its working clergy as long-suffering and dedicated. He sees it as a principal casualty of Anglo-French feuding and military depredations, however Church-loving the two kings may be. Heresy and war were emptying the churches; war diverted the Church's revenues and drove priests into exile before Louis IX came to its aid.[22] John sums up its role. 'It comforts the down-hearted, visits the sick, prays, preaches, and comes out on top of insults, blows and threats'.[23] Providing confession too is a crucial role, especially in war. Reluctance can be overcome by a gentle confessor who must, unsurprisingly, be a well-educated man.[24] 'The priest himself softens fears to tears' / '*fletu temperat ipse metum*' — perhaps a hint at John's own style as a priest.

John's use of *exempla*

John tells his readers, 'Through examples, I have wanted to make hard men more gentle, to make uncultured folk better informed, and to bend disagreeable men with my words.' He also uses them to add piquancy to the narrative.[25] The saints are moreover an important element in John's faith. He calls on St George to look favourably on his work.[26] He used the Acts of the Apostles and the writings of Paul as part of his preaching repertory.[27]

---

18 *DTE*, 4.29–30. See also 86–87 below.
19 *DTE*, 2.543–68.
20 *DTE*, 3.681–682.
21 *DTE*, 5.197–201.
22 *DTE*, 2.541–43, 4.87, 3.11–12.
23 *DTE*, 1.79–80.
24 *DTE*, 7.329–31.
25 *DTE*, 6.155–56.
26 *DTE*, 6.158–59, and Book 6, n. 50.
27 *DTE*, 6.73–74, 4.349–50.

Although the passages on saints are usually confined to short biographical incidents, almost always miracles or martyrdom, more than 11% of the poem is dedicated to these *exempla.* To quote John again, 'Beyond a certain number I lack the capacity to catalogue which, how many and how great miracles shine forth for which saints.'[28] The full list of references to saints, grouped and in alphabetical order, is as follows:

Biblical:- Andrew, Barnabas, James the Greater, James the Less, John, Jude, Luke, Matthew, Matthias (chosen to replace Judas), Paul, Peter, Simon, Thomas.

Early saints and martyrs:- Basilissa, Catherine, Christopher, George, Helena, Julian of Antioch, Lawrence, Leonard, Margaret, Mary of Egypt, Nicholas, Stephen, Sylvester, Vincent.

Early English and Irish saints:- Alban, Amphibalus, Brendan, Cuthbert, Dunstan, Edmund, Germanus, Guthlac, Kentigern, Lupus.

Traditional French saints:- Amator, Denis, Eligius (Éloi), Fronto, Geneviève, Giles, Honoratus, Julian of Brioude, Julian of le Mans, Lazarus, Martin of Tours, Martha, Mary Magdalene, Nicasius, Saturnin (Sernin).

'**Modern' saints:-** Benedict, Bernard of Clairvaux, Edmund of Canterbury, Francis of Assisi.

Many of these were martyrs, offering constant reminders of the martyr's death awaiting those who died on crusade. Of the French saints, some had associations with Paris (Geneviève, Denis) or the South West (Fronto, the two Julians, Lazarus, Martha, Mary, Saturnin). No *exempla* punctuate the final book on Louis' crusade, where no rivals to Louis' sanctity are offered.

War, peace and crusade: John as a critic of Western priorities

Throughout *De triumphis* John is critical of the pursuit by the magnates of the Christian West of internecine warfare. 'But I can also weep of the upheavals which bring chaos to very many kingdoms. Would that peace might bind kingdoms and their leaders together. I lament the battles which have arisen between Christians, and I urge them to turn their wars against the savage Parthians.'[29] Again, of the Saintonge War, he says, 'If the crowd of unbelievers had died by these swords, I would have rejoiced. I grieve because it was a multitude of believers who died.'[30] He narrows his target in the Prologue, 'My urgings against war condemn it by many examples, unless it is lawful ('*legitimum*'), in line with legal rights and the faith ('*iura fidemque sequens*').[31] John's argument runs into difficulties. He is particularly hard from the outset on those who make war in pursuit of territorial gain.[32] Indeed he goes out of his way to emphasise that Louis IX had no territorial ambitions in invading

28 *DTE*, 4.325–26.
29 *DTE*, Preface.37–40.
30 *DTE*, 3.515–16.
31 *DTE*, Prologue, 10.
32 E.g. *DTE*, 1.1.

Egypt, despite the counter-evidence that Louis planned to establish a permanent Christian presence in Damietta.[33] He also claims that Henry III had no desire for more territory, notwithstanding his designs on former Angevin lands. Yet at the same time he sympathises with the right to defend territorial claims (*iura*), and accepts that 'though there may have been just wars ('*prelia iusta*'), disharmony oversteps the mark and goes beyond what is reasonable.'

De triumphis as an *excitatio*

The sub-heading '*Exhortatio ad crucem suscipiendam*' appears on f. 76^{v} of the manuscript, between lines 270 and 271 of Book 2, in the much later hand of the rubricator. There is no sign in the margin of a draft in the hand of the scribe, but a space had been left for an enlarged initial capital, duly inserted in red. The initial subject-matter bears no relation to the recruitment theme, though soon the elements of a separate continuous section encouraging men of all nations and their kings to join the crusade under Louis IX appear, interrupted by a long digression about the weather and the sea.[34] It is altogether possible that a poem rallying support for Louis' planned crusade was one of the elements written and incorporated into *De triumphis* while John was working on it in the early 1240s. In preference to the implied major disruption of the order of the lines, the text of what was probably this original *Exhortatio* is italicised.

John invokes the crusaders' recapture of Acre in 1191 as a successful model for the expedition Louis IX is planning.[35] Just as Acre had divided the kings, so Louis' campaign could unite them again. And like the Third, the Seventh Crusade was an expedition to recapture Jerusalem for Christendom after it had been recently seized by the Muslims.

In the earlier *Epithalamium*, John shows his sense of the continuity of crusading and of his underlying moral doubts.[36] His historical view is defined by successive efforts to recover the Holy Cross captured by Saladin, first by Philip II and Richard I in the Third Crusade, then by Innocent III and Honorius in the Fifth. It is not therefore surprising that John chooses to liken Louis IX's planned crusade to the Third Crusade, rather than giving detailed accounts of the First and Second. In John's call to arms there are echoes of Peter of Blois' *exhortatio* before the Third Crusade, *Tractatus de Hierosolymitana peregrinatione acceleranda*, and of earlier crusading language.[37] John mostly designates 'crusader' by '*Crucesignatus*.'[38] It began to be used around the end of the twelfth century, as the language of pilgrimage and crusade became more

33 *DTE*, Preface.45–46, See Preface, n. 19 for counter-evidence.
34 See *DTE*, 2, n. 79.
35 *DTE*, 8.47–48.
36 *EBVM*, 4.71–109.
37 Like John, Peter of Blois, an eminent cleric in England and adviser to Henry II, criticized the tardiness and lack of religious fervour of the Christian kings in not avenging the defeat at Hattin (1187).
38 *DTE*, 2.801, 3.69, 4.22.

differentiated.[39] He also uses the older formula '*baiulus crucis*' / 'Cross-bearer,' who should be 'chaste, say his prayers, and be humble, strong in his faith and prepared to suffer.' Put another way, the Cross brings a 'strong character, firm faith and unwavering dignity.'[40] In *Parisiana Poetria*, John proposes a similar formula, '*Iusque modumque tene, pietate fluant tibi vene … … Nil dextre poterunt ubi mentis prelia deerunt.*'[41] His point is that military superiority is not enough to defeat the Church's enemies.

The concept that Christendom was being made to suffer for the collective sins of mankind was not new. Alan of Lille's '*Sermo de Cruce Domini*,' in all likelihood preached in 1189, vividly presents the crusader as a penitent and the Cross as symbolising that.[42] Siberry notes that in *De triumphis* John of Garland was the first to link defeat in the Seventh Crusade explicitly with the behaviour of the crusaders in the Holy Land, a theme which continued to resonate.[43] John says he prefers to pass over in silence the '*dedecus Ecclesie regisque.*'[44]

In the final book John reverts to recruitment, and there are further allegorical passages about the Cross as well as a characterisation of the ideal crusader and glorification of the martyr's crown which he would earn. After describing the defeat in Egypt, John takes up the crusading theme. 'Go to it, doctors of the law, spread the words of the Cross. Let the energy of the Romans, Danes, Spanish, English, Germans, Illyrians take up the weapons of the Cross.' This is addressed to John's fellow teachers in the Schools and to Doctors of Theology elsewhere, surely his intended audience for this poem.[45] John, like the magnates of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1254, had high - if unfulfilled - hopes that Henry III would renew Louis IX's efforts against the Muslims, after the English king took the Cross in 1250.[46] His hopes of succour from Spain were similarly disappointed.[47] We do not know whether John lived to see the Mameluk attacks on the remains of the Crusader States in the 1260s. But Louis' abortive crusade proved to be the last serious attempt to win back the Holy Land.

---

39 See, for example, Markowski (1984), Tyerman (1998), 26–29. On the significance of the Cross to crusaders, see Housley (2008), 49–52.

40 *DTE*, 8.53–54, 334.

41 *PP*, 70–71.

42 D'Alverny ed., *Alain de Lille: textes inédits* (Paris, 1965), 279–83. See also M. Phillips (2006) for a perceptive analysis of the symbolism of the Cross before the Third Crusade.

43 Siberry (1985), 87–88. John implicitly criticises the luxury of Louis' brothers, Robert and Charles, and Charles' arrogant behaviour before Mansourah, *DTE*, 8.308–10 & 415. He describes the French army at Mansourah as '*nimis audax,*' *DTE*, 8.417, as well as generally attributing failure to '*contagia culpe,*' *DTE*, 8.477.

44 *DTE*, 8.357.

45 See 43–44 above.

46 See *Annales Monastici de Burton*, vol. 1, 368–69; Jackson (2007), 279.

47 See *DTE*, 8, n. 175.

CHAPTER 7

The Main Political Sub-Plots

The central theme of *De triumphis* is the need for Christendom to carry the fight to its enemies, with a view to their ultimate elimination or conversion, and specifically to recapture the Holy Land and liberate Jerusalem. John's accompanying *leitmotiv* is that this cannot be achieved without Christian unity in the Latin West. This section considers the two main strands of that theme.

First, John addresses the continuing conflict between England and France, respectively the countries in which he was born and where he chose to live. He includes the Third Crusade and Henry III's Poitou campaign of 1242 (the 'Saintonge War') as catastrophic examples of their mutual hostility. The second underlying crack in Christian solidarity, less fully explored by John, was the power struggle between successive popes and the Emperor Frederick II (1212–1250).

England and France

An unending conflict

The Capetian King Philip II (Philip Augustus) ruled France from 1180 to 1223.[1] At the beginning of his reign, the kingdom of France comprised a small area around Paris and the Île de France. Its influence stretched north and east through Flanders and Champagne, and north-west towards Britanny. Richard I of England inherited from his father Henry II not only the English crown, but Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou and Aquitaine, by longstanding practice and tradition as vassal of the French king. Most of modern France east of the Rhône owed allegiance to the emperor throughout the period covered by *De triumphis*. The Occitan-speaking South-West was controlled by a number of powerful nobles mostly loyal to the counts of Toulouse or the kings of Aragon.

By the end of Philip's reign, French territory had increased dramatically. King John lost to Philip all of continental France except Poitou and Aquitaine. The French under Prince Louis (Louis VIII 1223–26) invaded England in 1216 at the invitation of dissident barons, but were defeated by magnates loyal to the new infant king, Henry III. As king, Louis VIII secured the loyalty of the fickle Poitevin lords. Under the treaty of Paris in 1229, the French crown effectively secured control of the lands

1 This is a brief account of the broader historical background. For the fuller picture, see Hallam & Everard (2013), 221–75.

of Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse. After an unsuccessful foray in 1230, Henry III again invaded Poitou in 1242, with no greater success. Louis IX defeated him militarily, the Poitevin lords deserted him, and in the aftermath Louis finally overcame any remaining resistance to his rule by French nobles. Under another treaty of Paris in 1259, the English renounced all claims to territory in France except for Gascony, which the treaty conceded to them.

John of Garland appears comfortable with his dual national affiliations during this turbulent period. Although he spent most of his life in France, he seems to have gone back at least once to England, and to have retained senior clerical contacts there. He may have had lay patrons in both countries. He forcefully conveys his intense frustration at persistent Anglo-French wars.

John has no doubt that the French had the edge in war.[2] Mostly however he presents a balanced scorecard. He credits the strength of the French to 'their piety, their chivalry in war and their unwavering faith.' The English on the other hand are distinguished by 'an abundance of silver, their natural intelligence (*ingenium*), the renown of their clergy and respect for the law.'[3] Furthermore they are 'hard working, receptive in their wisdom, wholly committed to Christ, generous in their hospitality.'[4] John characterises the French (*Galli / galli*) as cockerels and the English as rosbifs (*tauri*).[5] The bull cannot stand firm as its horns are rendered useless by the cockerels' swift attacks. 'As cocks mount hens, so the French subdue the masses, their land and their animals.' The English are lampooned as drunkards, while John is enamoured of the subtlety of the French language.[6]

The Third Crusade

John sees the dispute between Richard and Philip during the Third Crusade as crystallising Anglo-French hostility. The argument runs as follows. Philip II, already insulted by Richard's jilting his sister Alice in favour of Berengaria[7] was further offended by his triumphalist behaviour in Sicily, and high-handed eviction of Leopold VI, Duke of Austria, from his quarters in Acre.[8] 'The Cross would have been returned, and all the Holy Land subdued, had one or other of the leaders not wanted to be pre-eminent.'[9] In Book 1, John has already told the reader that 'The city of Acre had generated the [underlying] causes in the past, when the crusader leaders quarrelled. This long-standing dispute between kings was transmitted to the count [Hugh X de Lusignan],' via his wife, Henry III's mother.[10] Again in Book 2,

2 *DTE*, 3.405–06.
3 *DTE*, 2.55–58.
4 *DTE*, 4.139–40.
5 *DTE*, 2.670–72 & 745–8.
6 *DTE*, 2.803 & 740.
7 *DTE*, 3.129–32. John blames Richard's mother Eleanor of Aquitaine for his rejection of Alice.
8 *DTE*, 3.157–68.
9 *DTE*, 3.169–70.
10 *DTE*, 1.293–96.

'Acre witnessed the seeds of the long quarrel between King Richard and King Philip. Its root cause flowed across the seas from the Holy Land.'[11] In the *Epithalamium*, John could not be more untranslatably tactful: '*Consortis tamen impatiens, animosa potestas/ Distracto revocat regia corda iugo*'/ 'The pride of power grew weary of sharing and, breaking apart their yoke claimed back the spirits of the kings.'[12] In the same passage, John wrongly dates the kings' dispute after Richard's capture of Jaffa.

It is in any case no accident that John gives a substantive account of the Third Crusade, whilst mentioning only *en passant* the First, Second, Fifth, Sixth and Barons' Crusades, omitting the Fourth altogether. It was a direct response to the loss of Jerusalem (1187), and the most recent crusade in which major Western monarchs had personally taken part. The crusading armies had travelled by sea and dallied in Cyprus. Most importantly, it was within the living memory of the older generation when John was a young man. Moreover, the reputation, legend even, of Richard the Lionheart was still bright. John presents him in heroic style, as he largely repeats what others have written about the Third Crusade. He has 'the heart of a lion;' 'glorious repute makes peerless Richard immortal, and his long lasting glory can never die.' John tells us, uniquely, that a comet marked his death.[13]

Richard emerges with heroic status. His deeds are 'to be sung about at the crossroads.' Yet John still manages to use Richard's achievements as a literary device to ensure that Louis IX emerges as the inspiring figure of the poem. He achieves this by playing down the transitory nature of Richard's feats ahead of his account of the Crusade. 'What has Alexander the Great, what has bold Julius [now]? What has King Richard with the heart of a lion, whose noble demeanour was the [underlying] cause of this affliction?'[14] He even at one point says that Louis was a greater king than Richard.[15]

John does not throw new light on the Third Crusade, and his account seems largely based on the *Itinerarium*, though at times he uses other sources.[16] This section was probably written during the 1220s.

Philip II, Louis VIII and King John

Philip II is portrayed less glamorously than Richard I, though he is characterised as '*magnus*.'[17] His persistent undermining of Richard's position in England and the French mainland during the crusade, and his role in Richard's imprisonment are not mentioned. John does however say that King John's lands were lost through deception, in a very clear implied criticism of Philip.[18] King John gets an unusually sympathetic hearing. He is praised more than once for his generalship, and John of

---

11 *DTE*, 2.651–54.
12 *EBVM*, 4.89–90.
13 *DTE*, 3.64–65, 83–84, 194. On Richard's reputation, see Gillingham (1999), 254–68.
14 *DTE*, 3.63–64.
15 See n. 29 below.
16 These instances are noted in the footnotes to Book 3.
17 *DTE*, 2.112.
18 *DTE*, 3.207–08.

Garland makes clear that he regards the Angevins as the rightful dukes of Normandy.[19] He gives a cursory account of King John's campaigns with brief mention of the battle of Bouvines (1214), Philip's great triumph over the Emperor Otto and King John, already heavily celebrated by William le Breton in the *Philippide.* In death, John alleges by poison, the king is described as generous and brave.[20] John briefly describes the battle of Lincoln (1216), fulsomely praising the valour of William Marshal and Nicolaa de la Haye.[21] He draws some consolation from Prince Louis' invasion of England in 1216–17, without dwelling on its failure or Philip's supporting behind-scenes role. Louis' reign (1223–26) as Louis VIII is scarcely mentioned, though John gives him a gracious epitaph.[22] He has little or nothing to say about Anglo-French or indeed any other world events in the 1220s and 1230s, a period when he was busy writing grammatical and religious works.[23] Although he starts Book 6 writing about the year 1229 like a chronicler, he swiftly becomes engrossed in his experiences in Toulouse.

Louis IX and Henry III

Where John makes comparisons, he presents both Angevins and Capetians in a similar and favourable light. 'Each of the kings is gentle in Church, but fierce in war, has the appearance of righteousness and does nothing carelessly.'[24] They are both great military motivators.[25] In the Preface he says he will write about the kings of the French as 'loyal champions of the Church.' 'I shall write of the glittering deeds of each of our leaders. One is good, the other pious; one is fair (*equus*), the other true to the law (*iustus*). Each strives to conform to his own nature.'[26] John's model leader, Louis IX by implication, has the martial skills of Joshua, the capacity for prayer of Moses, the patience of Job, the intellect of Odysseus and the generosity of Titus.[27]

John strangely neglects Henry III as an individual, despite at least in 1258 knowing senior members of his court.[28] His character is undeveloped in the detailed coverage of his humiliating defeat in Poitou. Whilst not immune from criticism, Louis on the other hand emerges from humiliation in the final book with honour and glory. And great though Richard the Lionheart had been, Louis' destiny was even greater. 'Louis, a greater [king], descended from Richard's noble stock, will be no stranger to such great praise.'[29] Louis is lavishly praised for acquiring relics and building Sainte

19 E.g. *DTE*, 2.315–16.
20 *DTE*, 3.265.
21 *DTE*, 2.275–80.
22 *DTE*, 5.232–40. For full coverage of Louis VIII, see Hanley (2016), for Lincoln, 156–65, and for Louis' successful capture of Avignon in 1224, 215–21.
23 See 27 above.
24 *DTE*, 2.81–82.
25 *DTE*, 7.254.
26 *DTE*, 2.773–74.
27 *DTE*, Prologue.59–60.
28 See 25 above. *Exempla honeste vite* was written in 1258.
29 *DTE*, 3.95–96.

Chapelle to house them; but although Henry began rebuilding Westminster Abbey in 1245, and acquired the relic of the Holy Blood in 1247, John does not mention them.[30] He seems to believe in Henry's sincere intention to go on crusade,[31] but Louis is 'father of knighthood and of peace, a shield for both, recruit to the faith and champion of the Cross.'[32]

John emphasises throughout the antiquity of both monarchies by drawing repeatedly on Geoffrey of Monmouth and Pseudo-Turpin for historical digressions. He reflects a more general fashion of tracing the Capetians back in direct line to Charlemagne, fostered by the monarchy from Philip II onwards to boost their legitimacy and enhance their reputation.[33] John reminds his readers of the nobility and influence of both royal lines, of their direct descent from William the Conqueror, and of the spread of Norman power. This is emphasised in the manuscript by the illustration on f. 75^{r} (Plate 4, p. 149).[34] The narrative also contains stories of King Arthur and the early English kings, but John makes no parallel effort to trace back the lineage of the English kings, and the stories are largely *exempla*, to entertain or divert, reflecting the popularity of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The 'Saintonge War'

At the beginning of their reigns because of their youth, then perhaps because of their mutual suspicion and spasmodic skirmishing, the kings of England and France were conspicuously not in the Holy Land. They took no part in the so-called Barons' Crusade (1239–41),[35] led first by Thibault of Champagne, then by Henry III's brother, Richard of Cornwall. John mentions it briefly. On the other hand he devotes an eighth of the whole text, to the 'Saintonge War,' a brief and undignified invasion of Poitou by Henry in 1242, with other writers largely a non-event. This fiasco made a powerful impression on him, precisely because it exemplified the distractive force of Anglo-French rivalries. Its prominence would however make perfect sense if John did indeed have a sponsor from the Lusignan family. John's account is spread over Books 1–3, and is awkwardly punctuated by long digressions. It is quite possible that he originally wrote this as a separate poem during the period 1242–45. His coverage feels disjointed and repetitive, and would have benefited greatly from further editing.

---

30 On this, John does not follow Matthew Paris who prominently covers Henry III's religious efforts.

31 On Henry's crusading credentials, see Forey (1973).

32 *DTE*, 2.61–62.

33 Egidius Parisius' *Karolinus* is a notable example from 1200. See Le Goff (2009), 41–43 for a succinct account of the Capetians' emphasis on their descent from Charlemagne and the Merovingians before him.

34 *DTE*, 2.121–26 & n. 31.

35 *DTE*, 7.175–84. For a full account of the Barons' Crusade, see Lower (2005).

The 'Saintonge War' occurred just before John's substantial period of work on *De triumphis* around 1245.[36] Despite its apparent irrelevance to the poem's title and broad crusading theme, it was a perfect case study for John. It devastated the countryside and ruined country people's lives, illustrating the corrosive effects of gossip and rumour, fickle magnates, meddling bishops and the horrors of war in general. Most of all it distracted the kings, and provided an excuse for the nobles not to commit to the fight for the Holy Land and against the Mongols. John leaves us in no doubt about his passion for Anglo-French rapprochement, and implores Henry III and Louis IX to settle their differences.[37]

The war arose because Hugh X de Lusignan invited Henry III, his half-brother, to intervene in his support after he had launched a rebellion against the youthful new king of France, Louis IX. John blames Isabella of Angoulême, mother of Henry III and Richard of Cornwall, now married to Hugh, for inciting him to this.[38] Hugh was reacting to Louis' grant of the county of Poitou to his own brother Alphonse, overriding Richard's claim. Hugh refused to swear fealty to Alphonse, which triggered a swift attack by Louis on Hugh's strongholds. Henry saw this as a further opportunity to retake the lands in France lost by his father, despite Hugh's known political fickleness. Henry and his small invading force were soon abandoned by Hugh and other leading Poitevin magnates, who were induced to switch their allegiance to Louis, but not before Henry's forces were decisively beaten in the battles of Taillebourg and Saintes. Henry himself was forced to flee and narrowly escaped capture, thanks partly to a severe epidemic among Louis' troops in Blaye.[39] The operation undermined permanently any prospect of English rule in Poitou, as Henry III finally acknowledged in another Treaty of Paris in 1259. Hugh retained some of his territory and avoided the harshest penalties, but was forced to accompany Louis on crusade and died at Damietta, like his father before him in the Fifth Crusade. Raymond VII of Toulouse, Hugh's ally against Louis, was soon forced to surrender in 1243.

John's writing reveals a conflict of loyalties. He acknowledges the ultimate right of the French king to impose his will on his vassal, Hugh, and the corresponding duty of Hugh not to take up arms against his lord. But he also believes that Louis over-reacted and that Alphonse's behaviour was arrogant. He praises Hugh's valour, nobility and probity and presents the two cases as finely balanced — drawing a distinction between fairness and rights, though elsewhere in the poem he presents Hugh as an involuntary turncoat.[40] Henry is implausibly portrayed as coming to Poitou with peaceful intentions, and to have been duped by Poitevin magnates, notably Reginald of Pons who had received large subsidies from him. That said, John's inconsistent tone towards Hugh may simply mean that his views changed over time and that he did not have time to edit them.

---

36 For the war, see *CM*, 4.179–224 *passim*, William of Nangis, *Chronicon*, 194–95. See also Le Goff (1996), 150–55, (2009), 102–07.

37 *DTE*, 7.283–84.

38 See *DTE*, 1. n. 105 & Grant (2016), 125–27.

39 Graphically described in *DTE*, 3.669–78.

40 *DTE*, 3.658–60.

This victory provided Louis with the commanding position he needed to pacify his domestic enemies and neutralise the English. By the time he took the Cross in 1244 and his crusade was launched at the Council of Lyon in 1245, he was able to commit himself to careful preparations.

Papacy and empire

Equally damaging to the unity of Western Christendom in the first half of the thirteenth century was the continuing hostility between the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire.[41] John understood very well that this seriously damaged the military capability of the West. At the end of a passionate appeal to the English and French kings to unite under the Cross, John appeals also to Frederick. 'There are two consecrated kings, one French, one English, and each lives in powerful state. The third king should have been available to the holy Church, whom holy Jerusalem is missing because of his savage wars.'[42]

In contrast to his set-pieces on England and France, John's references to this dispute are more like sections of linking commentary or even asides, often short, allusive and ambiguous. John comes close to narrative about Frederick only when he relates the proceedings of the Council of Lyon.[43] Odd facts, such as references to his Italian wars, are dotted around the text. Some of the passages about Frederick are in leonine verse, suggesting incorporation of lines from a separate poem, mainly in Book 5. The core dispute, however, is a theme running through the whole work, appearing in all books except the fourth.

Unsurprisingly John's commitment to the papal cause is never in doubt. Innocent IV's central role in rallying Christians emerges at the outset.[44] 'The doughty spirit of the present pope has feared neither bloody swords nor threats of martyrdom.'… 'the pope is vigorous in his energy.'… 'Innocent IV, heir to Gregory,

---

41 D. Abulafia (1988) provides an admirable account of Frederick (1194–1250) and of the events of his reign. It is impossible to do justice here to the complexities of this feud. In brief, Frederick, brought up as a ward of Pope Innocent III, became Holy Roman Emperor in 1215, and was crowned by Pope Honorius in 1220. He soon came into continuous political and sometimes armed conflict with the papacy for complex reasons, but at the heart of the bitter dispute was the pope's continuing papal resistance to Frederick's territorial control and determination to retain papal lands in Italy. Frederick was repeatedly excommunicated, for the last time in 1245, when he was deposed by the Council of Lyon on multiple charges including heresy and failure to support crusading efforts. He became king of Jerusalem by marriage in 1225, and led an expedition to the Holy Land in 1227–9 (known as the Sixth Crusade), securing access through negotiation to the holy places and Christian control of a demilitarised Jerusalem.

42 *DTE*, 2.115.

43 The references to Frederick, direct or implied, are *DTE*, Preface.21–22; Prologue.15–16; Book 1.21–24, 89–90, 95–98, 145–46, 367–72; Book 2.91–104, 115–16, 171–72, 657–58; Book 3.375–80; Book 5.143–46, 151–56, 192–228; Book 6.269–86; Book 7.289–92, 479–90; Book 8.85–86, 515–16.

44 This translation rests on the emended reading '*p*{*ape*}' in *DTE*, Preface.3.

confronts his enemies with the sword of canon law,'[45] just as Eli had acquiesced in God's punishment of his sons. Here John is writing at the time of the Council of Lyon and supports Innocent's firm approach to Frederick, once his ward. He had expected little of Celestine IV; 'things which are falling cannot stay upright for long.'[46] But John does not name Frederick, or the mindless gossips who slander the pope. 'I report what others talk about openly, but I do not testify to its truth. Nobody, rich or poor, is slandered by my lips.'[47]

One at least of the references to Frederick may have survived an earlier version of the poem and relate to events of the 1220s, though the text does not allow certainty. 'Insofar as Frederick observes the rules of peace in this matter, he deserves praise and just treatment. If he were to bring succour to captive Jerusalem, victory would bring him a broader empire. But his own reputation is waning, since he is undermining the status of mother Church and harassing the pope. Frederick promises in exchange for a well-founded peace to restore the territory of Jerusalem to that which the popes held in the past. David was a murderer, a deceiver and adulterer, but, in tears, his supreme piety saved him as he wept.'[48] John does however unequivocally identify Frederick's direct intervention during the papal interregnum in 1241, when he seized a number of legates and bishops at sea and held them prisoner. 'The sons of the Church are going beyond civil wars, and harassing the holy fathers and the Church. Some men, who have learned to give nothing to their benign God, derive pleasure from spending their lives in wars.'[49] Later however John acknowledges that the emperor has released the bishops and implies that Frederick has actively sought to get a righteous / '*iustum*' (or perhaps 'legitimate') pope elected. John strikes the same querulous note with Frederick as with the land-grabbing of Henry and Louis, in blaming the most recent war on his seizure of the pope's estates ('*predia*').[50] Frederick is adhering to the rule of law if he attacks heretics and punishes rebellious citizens. The right thing to do would be to establish peace between Innocent and Frederick by 'force or love' ('*vi vel amore*'), though it is the emperor, depicted as the son, who should yield to the father / pope. 'This feeble pen rebukes you [both], the written page chides you, the unadorned letters of my text publish the charges.'[51]

After the Council of Lyon (1245), John's tone is more mocking, yet still ambiguous. He describes Frederick as '*fortis,*' which can mean 'brave,' as well as 'powerful.'[52] John refers to Frederick's nobility ('*probitas*'), while offering him the example of Constantine. He urges him to return the pope's land, support the Christians and not worship idols.[53] Explicitly reporting the Council, John writes cryptically, 'Learn of

45 *DTE*, 1.89.
46 *DTE*, 1.89–90,95–97,99–100.
47 *DTE*, 2.93–94.
48 *DTE*, 2.95–104.
49 *DTE*, 1.369–70.
50 *DTE*, 6.270–86.
51 *DTE*, 3.375–80.
52 *DTE*, 7.289.
53 *DTE*, 5.217–22.

everything which was done on the pope's nod. The tearful sign of the crab, which walks backwards, was deposed, and pointed the way to sad times. Though this man was an astrologer, he did not see his deposition in the stars, and that he himself would yield up his rank. But Leo the Lion follows on from Cancer the Crab. If a lion emerges, he will make strong men shake with fear. The pope will provide the sword, but if anyone misuses it, he who offered the gift should take it away.'[54] John takes pleasure from Frederick's defeat at Parma in 1248, though at his death in 1250 the emperor receives a gracious enough epitaph.[55]

Both in regard to the 1220s and the 1240s John's tone towards Frederick was far less abrasive than that adopted by Innocent IV himself and by the documents of the Council of Lyon. He leaves the impression that he passionately wanted a rapprochement and believed it was possible. It is consistent with his sincere desire for peace and his accurate vision of the need for Christian unity. His idea of a compact between pope and emperor appears first in the *Poetria Parisiana*, in the context of model letters between Pope Honorius and Frederick at the time of the Fifth Crusade or the early 1220s,[56] and he never lost hope of a reconciliation.

54 *DTE*, 7.480–90.
55 *DTE*, 8.515–16.
56 *PP*, 7.156–87.

CHAPTER 8

Countering the 'Other'

Heretics, Mongols, Jews and Muslims

The Albigensian Crusade and the Mongol invasions were among the major events of John's lifetime, and receive full coverage in *De triumphis*. For John, they rank alongside Anglo-French disharmony as causes of procrastination and diversion of resources away from recovering Jerusalem and defeating the main enemy, Islam. Although no war was fought against the Jews, John implicates them in the Mongol invasion, and through usury, links them with the heretics as well. All three groups were enemies of the Church whom John routinely reviles. He does not develop an apocalyptic theme, though he uses apocalyptic language to characterise both Mongols and Jews.[1]

The Albigensian Crusade (1208–29)

Whether or not John had visited the Languedoc earlier,[2] it is highly likely that he wrote a verse account of the Albigensian Crusade[3] before or during his period teaching in Toulouse in 1229–32, though operations against the Cathars in 1242–44 may have prompted revision as John put together *De triumphis*. There is however no evidence that he 'published' it separately. It finds its way into *De triumphis* because of John's personal engagement in the post-war attempt at rehabilitation of the Languedoc. He presents the crusade to the South as a telling example, like the Saintonge War, of Christians fighting each other or other enemies of the Church, rather than mobilising for an expedition to the Holy Land. Motives deriving from patronage, for example by a member of the de Montfort family, could also have been motivated John to give the crusade so central a place.[4]

In Toulouse John would have met many with memories of the sieges of 1211, 1216 and 1217–18. He would have known Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's *Historia Albigensis*, effectively an official history, and probably available soon after 1218, together with widely circulated papal correspondence of the time. He may also have had access to the earlier chapters of William of Puylaurens' *Chronica*, though this was finalised

1 *DTE*, 7.61–64 & 4.391–96 respectively. Compare Innocent III's language likening Muhammad to the beast of the apocalypse in the Bull *Quia maior* of April 1213.

2 Evidence of a possible earlier visit is discussed at 19 above. At Louis IX's insistence, Raymond VII, abandoning his own rebellion, finally crushed armed Cathar military resistance at Monségur in 1244.

3 For contrasting accounts of the crusade see Sumption (1978), Pegg (2008), and for a helpful summary Jiménez-Sanchez (2008), 280–86. On the political background in the South-West, see Graham-Leigh (2005), especially 90–112, D. J. Smith (2010), especially 32–39, Jiménez-Sanchez (2008), 265–80. Léglu, Rist, Taylor (2014) usefully assemble papal and vernacular sources.

4 See 23–24 above.

many years later. William evidently worked closely with Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, during John's stay there.[5] John also clearly read or heard the vernacular *Cansó,* of which Meyer's edition identified three important points which otherwise appear only in *De triumphis Ecclesie*.[6] John's vivid accounts of the battle of Muret and of the 1217–18 siege of Toulouse owe more to eyewitness accounts and the *Cansó* than to the chroniclers.

In seeking to analyse the causes of the Albigensian Crusade, John provides a unique explanation of papal hostility to the Trencavel family.[7] In a fabliau-like cameo,[8] he alleges that the bishop of Albi seduced the wife[9] of Roger II Trencavel (viscount of Béziers, 1167–94). Roger, a crusader, had entrusted her to his godfather, the bishop, while he was abroad, by implication, '*peregre*'[10] on crusade; and his murderous revenge had incurred the unrelenting hostility of the legate and the papacy. Indeed on the basis of it, Le Clerc dismissed John as '*frivole historien,*' for linking '*aventures d'amour*' with the gravity of Peter of Castelnau's murder.[11] Surely, however, John has confused this story with that of an earlier legate, Henry of Marcy, who excommunicated Roger II in 1178 for imprisoning the bishop of Albi, for reasons unknown. John says that Raymond V, count of Toulouse (1148–94) did not back Roger, his vassal and son-in-law. The incident exemplifies John's sniping at clerical venality. Although John clearly has his doubts, and tales of lecherous bishops were no doubt frequent, he is not usually a gossip-monger and the story reads like at least a part of local oral tradition. This passage further explains, or is perhaps explained by, the continuing rift between the Trencavels and the counts of Toulouse, and the crusaders' harsh treatment of Roger's son, Raymond-Roger (viscount of Béziers, 1194–1209).[12]

John consistently shows some sympathy with the Southern aristocracy. In his view, Roger II was a returning crusader, doing no more than exacting justified revenge for a betrayal of trust. In the same way his son, Raymond-Roger, resisted the invading crusaders to protect his rights. He was killed by '*damna, pudor, carcer, ira, dieta, dolor.*'

---

5 Sibly & Sibly ed. & trans., Intro., xxi–xxii and xxviii. See also *DTE*, 5.257–68.

6 See above. *La Chanson de la croisade contre les Albigeois, commencée par Guillaume de Tudèle et continuée par un poète anonyme*, ed. & trans. (French) P. Meyer, (Paris, 1875), vol. 2, xxi–xxiii. The points are at *DTE*, 5.47–48 Simon's prayer for death or glory; *DTE*, 5.53 and the *Cansó* uniquely mention Hugh de Lacy; and only the *Cansó* and *DTE*, 5.77–82 tell us that the petrary which killed Simon was operated by women.

7 *DTE*, 4.21–46.

8 See 49 above.

9 Adelaide, daughter of Raymond V of Toulouse.

10 *DTE*, 4.23.

11 Leclerc (1852), 84.

12 Graham–Leigh (2005) does not mention this alleged episode. Nor does Roger of Howden, the only source for Henry de Marcy's delegation, refer to the incident, RH, 156 and 165. I have been unable to confirm that Roger II was in fact *crucesignatus*, though previous generations of Trencavel fought in the First and Second Crusades, Riley-Smith (1997), 103 and n. 145. It is possible that he had 'crusaded' in Iberia. Raymond VI abandoned Raymond-Roger, his son-in-law, in 1209, having joined the crusaders, and was present at the sieges of Béziers and Carcassonne.

Without naming names this is a powerful indictment of his death in prison after his surrender before Carcassonne (1209).[13]

Raymond V, Roger's lord, had failed to act, afraid of losing the respect of his kinsman Roger and of the Church.[14] He helped neither, and lost the respect of both. John draws the parallel as he moves seamlessly from Raymond V to his son, Raymond VI (1194–1222). He praises Raymond, exonerating him from authorizing Peter of Castelnau's murder in 1208. '*Saepe facit facinus famulus quod non facit heros / Nec iubet, inde tamen crimen habere potest.*'[15] John introduces Raymond's son, Raymond VII (1222–49) as '*Audax Remundus, Hectora corde gerit,*' lamenting his untimely death which prevented him from joining Louis' crusade. John praises too his crusader ancestor, Raymond IV (of Saint-Gilles), in a rare reference to the First Crusade.[16] He fulsomely sums up,[17] '*Remundos igitur animosos alta Tholosa / Gignit, quos partum bellica vita iuvat.*' John's account of the Treaty of Paris is relatively even-handed, but hints strongly at Raymond VII's subsequent non-compliance. He implies that Raymond sympathised with the heretics, whilst allowing them to be burned. Yet he also says that Raymond VII's noble origins, royal links, financial and military strength and '*probitas*' enhance his reputation.[18] John again avoids blaming Raymond VII directly for the murder of the inquisitors in Avignonet (Garonne) in 1242.[19] It was, of course, he who paid John's wages in Toulouse.

Despite this strong hint of sympathy for the aristocracy of the Midi, John accuses unnamed '*prelustres magnanimique duces*' of becoming heretics, instead of being baptized.[20] He avoids criticising their rural populations: '*Sunt ibi concives iusti, validique coloni, / Proxima sed puris fex inimica nocet.*' While the Church is arming crusaders against them, it is by so doing postponing '*Terre promotio Sacre.*'[21] Yet John never questions the justice or necessity of this crusade, ostensibly against heresy.

John does not give a detailed account of the lengthy war. He dramatically highlights two pivotal set pieces, the battle of Muret (1213), and the second siege of Toulouse (1217–18).[22] He uses them to display Simon de Montfort's heroic status, in the first by his bravery and skill in battle, the second by his death, tragic despite its bathos. The two episodes are split between Books 4 and 5 at the mid-point of the poem, and are carefully balanced, with Peter of Aragon as the tragic hero at Muret. One year previously he had triumphed over the Moors at

13 *DTE*, 4.413–14.
14 *DTE*, 4.53–54.
15 *DTE*, 4.57–58.
16 *DTE*, 2.129–32.
17 *DTE*, 4.509–10.
18 *DTE*, 5.255–56.
19 *DTE*, 7.277–80.
20 *DTE*, 4.125–26.
21 *DTE*, 4.69–70.
22 For Muret, see *DTE*, 4.411–4.482, and for the 1218 siege of Toulouse, 5.11–84.

Las Navas de Tolosa, but now he was humbled by his own arrogance.[23] De Montfort displays '*virtus altissima,*' scorning ostentation. He is '*Symon conformis Achilli.*'[24] Re-ordering the text of this edition reveals that John was harshly critical of the bloody sack of Béziers, rather than guilty of confusing the sieges of Béziers and Carcassonne.[25] John's description of Raymond-Roger's peaceful surrender at Carcassonne and the fate of its citizens imply criticism of the papal legate but not of Simon de Montfort. Raymond-Roger's death soon after in prison is not mentioned here, but later, again without naming names, Simon is obliquely called to account.[26]

Apart from the initial invasion of Languedoc and the two battles, John's narrative is brief and strongly focused on Toulouse itself. He covers the decade between the death of de Montfort (1218) and the treaty of Paris (1229) at the end of the war in two short linking passages, which include Louis VIII's death (1226).[27] John gives no information about the continuing engagement of the papacy in Languedoc or about civic factionalism in Toulouse.[28] His coverage is selective and mostly based on clerical accounts. Like them, John avoids direct unpleasant truths regarding the crusaders; but in contrast he shows respect and sympathy for the Southern nobility. He makes a few unique observations,[29] and brings a vigour to the battle scenes which suggests contact with recent eye-witnesses and participants. The matching deaths of de Montfort and Peter II of Aragon and the prophecy[30] linking Béziers, Carcassonne and Toulouse are useful literary devices. They enable John to weave his material on the crusade into his broader theme, both historic and literary, and to make his sojourn in Toulouse a natural element of the broader picture.

Heretics

In this poem, '*heretici,*' '*heresis*' or '*scismatici*' usually refer to the so-called Albigensians in Languedoc, though the Waldensians are also so described. The word is applied in practice to anyone suspected of unorthodox Christian views.[31] John attempts no systematic explanation or refutation of heretical beliefs. He pays generous tribute to Alan of Lille, who did precisely that in *De Fide Catholica*: *Contra Hereticos, Valdenses,*

---

23 *DTE*, 4.430. See *DTE*, 4.465–78, a sympathetic obituary, and a tribute to Peter's successor, Jaime II. Smith (2010), 13–19, assesses the impact of Muret on the kingdom of Aragon. Peter had tried unsuccessfully to mediate at Carcassonne. John attributes his entry to the war to Raymond-Roger's death in captivity.

24 *DTE*, 4.427 & 435. Compare the adulatory treatment in PVC, 104–06, and in the *Cansò*, 35.

25 *DTE*, 4.179–82, nn. 46 & 47.

26 *DTE*, 4.413–14.

27 *DTE*, 5.235–38.

28 Rist (2009), 219–28, helpfully summarises continuing papal objectives in Languedoc. On rival confraternities in Toulouse, see WP, 15 and *Cansó*, 47.

29 Apart from the bishop of Albi story, John's reference to Savary de Mauléon, *DTE*, 4.489, and some of the details of siege engines are unique to this poem.

30 *DTE*, 4.155–64, & n. 42.

31 For a succinct account of Cathar beliefs in the Languedoc see Jiménez-Sanchez (2008), 296–304.

Iudaeos et Paganos.[32] Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay provided an account[33] of the 'sects' and their beliefs, which John had probably read. He recognizes that there were multiple 'sects.' He usually uses '*heretici*' to describe adherents of '*heresis,*' but twice uses '*Waldenses,*' without apparently seeming to differentiate, and once only, '*Albigensis.*'[34] Although John regards wars against heretics as a distraction, he does not question that they have to be dealt with, or that victory in the Albigensian Crusade counted among the triumphs of the Church.

He shows some superficial knowledge of Cathar beliefs. He attacks heretics through riddles, paradoxes and debating points, even jokes, reminiscent of preaching or public heckling.[35] He clearly understands that Cathars have dualist beliefs, and do not believe in the Trinity.[36] But his prime focus is on their general disrespect for the Church and its rituals and their alleged usury. John says they reject any pattern in celestial events, believing them to occur randomly.[37] He knows that they spurn the concepts of heaven and hell, and divine judgment. They stand accused of mocking the clergy, ignoring the laws of the Church, despising sacred objects and worshipping idols — they are hypocrites, who commit murders and other atrocities. They ignore the ides, nones and kalends, the Sabbath, Saints' Days and Holy Days, not from religious belief but to maximize interest on usurious loans.[38]

To describe heretics and heresy, John uses the metaphors of the Church extensively. He refers to heretics repeatedly, throughout the poem, as the worst of all the Church's enemies, operating secretly under cover of piety. However much sympathy John may have for the Languedocien lords, he shows none whatsoever for heretics.[39] He compares them to a hydra spitting poison, and with thorn-bushes, weeds, burrs and other harmful plants, and with the Jews.[40] While the Church is arming crusaders against them, it is by so doing postponing '*Terre promotio Sacre*' / 'recruiting for the Holy Land.'[41] Yet despite much hand-wringing, John never questions the justice or necessity of this crusade, ostensibly against heresy.

The Mongol invasions (1241–42)

Christian Europe was deeply shocked by the brutal incursions of Mongols from central Asia from 1237 onwards, and John successfully conveys the apocalyptic horror they

32 *DTE*, 4.203–06.
33 PVC, 10–19.
34 '*Waldensis secta*,' *DTE*, 4.145, 2.138; '*Bugaros*,' *DTE*, 5.253; '*Albigensis*,' *DTE*, 3.687.
35 *DTE*, 4.102–108.
36 *DTE*, 4. 91–92 & 103.
37 *DTE*, 4.113.
38 See also *WP*, trans. Sibly & Sibly, 35, n. 20, and Mundy (1954), 77, for the association of usury with heresy.
39 *DTE*, 4.81–82. This type of language is commonplace in anti-Cathar rhetoric, see Sackville (2011), 109.
40 *DTE*, 4.383–84, 141–42, and 389–90.
41 *DTE*, 4.69–70.

instilled.[42] They devastated first Russia, then in 1241 Hungary, Moravia and Poland. The West offered no effective military opposition, but following the death of the Khan Ögödei in December 1241, the Mongols themselves decided to turn back. By 1245, there were rumours of further Mongol armies massing in the Middle East. It was under Mongol pressure that the Turkic Khwarazmians had been pushed West, capturing Jerusalem and helping the Egyptians to crush the Christian armies in 1244. A '*remedium contra Tartaros*' was high on the agenda of the Council of Lyon in 1245. Western Christendom was concerned with two risks; that the Mongols would attack Europe again, but also that they would intensify pressure to the South, using their tightening grip on Asia Minor to attack the crusader states. Matthew Paris reports that Armenia and the principality of Antioch were paying tribute by 1246, while the Mongols again threatened Hungary.[43]

Four papal embassies were despatched in 1245 to make contact with the Mongols, including one led by Andrew of Longjumeau. John does not refer to these missions or their outcomes, though he may have seen the *Ystoria Mongolarum* of John of Plano Carpini who reported back to the pope in 1247. But he does warn that while Louis IX was pressing the Mongols to convert, the French army should beware of a trap.[44] Louis had received a delegation from the Mongol general Eljigidei during his own stay in Cyprus. Encouraged by their information that the Khan Güyüg had converted to Christianity, apparently supported by other independent evidence,[45] Louis despatched Andrew of Longjumeau on a second mission in 1249 with the gift to the khan of a portable chapel. It may however have been the Mongols' uncompromising response, reported back by Andrew to Louis in Caesarea in 1251, which prompted John's warning.[46]

The similarities between John's account and Matthew Paris's are discussed at p. 55 above. Both claim their own clerical sources for the graphic descriptions of Mongol atrocities. Widely circulated 'eye-witness' clerical accounts at the time have survived.[47] It seems likely that John wrote the sections about the Mongols between 1241 and 1245, and added references to them in the early 1250s in the Prologue and in Book 8.[48]

For John the Mongols were instruments of the devil, showing his frustration at the triumph of the Church. He does not generally address apocalyptic themes, but does go so far as to identify the (unnamed) leader of the Mongols with the Antichrist.[49] Importantly, he also sees them as a punishment for the current sins of the '*plebs mendax*'

---

42 For full accounts of the Mongol invasions, see Jackson (2005), 58–86, Jackson (2017), 72–93, Morgan (2007), 152–59, Berend (2001), 33–37, 163–71. See *DTE*, 7. 61–64 & n. 19 for his identification of the Muslims' leader as the Antichrist.

43 *CM*, 4.547.

44 *DTE*, 8.95–96. See also *CM*, 5.87.

45 Vincent of Beauvais, 32.92.

46 Matthew Paris did not report the outcome, and we rely on Joinville, 470 & 490–92.

47 E.g. *MGHSS*, 29.547–67, 585–95.

48 John's main account is in *DTE*, 6.353–7, and 7.1–162, with some digressions. The later references are *DTE*, Prologue.79–80 and 8.587–88.

49 *DTE*, 7.61 & n. 19.

— killing righteous men, harrying the Church, and general lust.[50] In contemporary terms, this must mean the Cathars, again in armed rebellion in Languedoc, and those supporting Frederick II against the pope. The Mongols were another obstacle to effective action in the Holy Land. John well understood the seriousness of the threat they posed. Rather than arguing that they were an avoidable distraction, he complains that neither the pope nor the kings have responded adequately, though the Germans are given some credit for their military efforts.[51] John blames the Cumans[52] for letting the Mongols pass and for undermining the king of Hungary. He sadly observes that if only the French and English kings could work together in perpetuity, not only the Mongols but also the Muslims would be defeated.[53]

John's account of the habits and atrocities of the Mongols is sensational and designed to shock.[54] They are manifestly a further punishment of mankind for original and recent sin. He otherwise gives a sketchy account of the invasions of 1241–42 themselves. In the last book, John accurately observes, probably in 1251–52, that the Mongols are divided,[55] and confidently concludes that Christianity will prevail, though the Mongols are still 'lording it'/ '*dominantes.*'

Jews

John was writing *De triumphis Ecclesie* at a time when both Louis IX and Henry III were taking active legislative and fiscal measures against Jews.[56] This was partly a culmination of measures to implement decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215;[57] and partly driven by appropriation, with papal encouragement, of the interest from usury to finance the forthcoming crusade.[58] His unremitting hostility to the Jews is neither surprising nor unusual for the time, though it is less dominant a theme here than in the *Epithalamium.* He routinely accuses the Jews of falsely claiming God's law and consigns them to hell.[59]

Noteworthy however is his reference to the 'Jewish plot' to support the Mongols, otherwise reported only by Matthew Paris, and documented above.[60] John calls

---

50 *DTE*, 7.5–7.

51 *DTE*, 7.160, perhaps more than they deserve. See Jackson (2005), 67, for the view that the German effort, also praised by Matthew Paris, was minimal.

52 *DTE*, 7, n. 21. On the Cumans, see Berend (2001) *passim*, and specifically on their conversion and doubts about their sincerity, 213–23.

53 *DTE*, 7.265–68. John of Plano Carpini, *Ystoria Mongolarum*, 12 observes that the Christians could only hope to defeat the Mongols if they were unified.

54 John was no stranger to prurient detail, as *DTE*, 6. 217–44 shows.

55 *DTE*, 8.509–14, 587, & n. 188.

56 See, e.g., Jordan (1979), 85–86, Carpenter (1996), 111.

57 Le Goff (2009), 652–56.

58 See *CM*, 4.459, Matthew Paris' account of the canons of the Council of Lyon.

59 *DTE*, 4.389–90.

60 *CM*, 4.131–33. Menache (1996) & (1997), 143–44 examine the 'plot' in detail. Without mentioning this text, she shows that the Jews did indeed expect the arrival of their Messiah around this time and saw the Mongols as a god-given scourge of the Western Christians. However unsubstantiated, this 'plot'

both peoples criminal (*scelerata*) and says that the Mongols performed religious sacrifices like the Jews. He assures his readers that the Mongols are circumcised, though Matthew Paris says they neither spoke Hebrew nor understood Mosaic law.[61] Matthew alludes to the Jews' belief that the Mongols were the ten lost tribes of Israel, while John says that the Jews believed their own long-expected Messiah was arriving. John is sometimes so carried away by his indignation that he fails to distinguish clearly between the Mongols and the Jews; in two passages in Book 7 it is difficult to unravel to which of them he is referring.[62]

Muslims

John does not attempt characterisation of any individual Muslims, any more than he identifies individual heretics, Mongols, or Jews. Like them, Muhammad is '*sceleratus.*'[63] Like the Mongols, however, Muslims are wild (*ferus*), bloodthirsty (*cruoris amor*), and expansionist. They reject human customs and are '*non homo, tigris atrox.*'[64] They are '*fallaces fraudeque pleni, expertes veri,*' sexually depraved, sacrilegious, arrogant and cruel.[65] In his account of the Third Crusade, John's only reference to Saladin is an anecdote about his gift of a horse to Richard, designed as an example of Muslim deceit.[66]

John uses a variety of names to describe the Egyptians and the Muslims generally,[67] more for reasons of prosody than geographical precision. He acknowledges that the Muslims are more civilised than the Mongols, citing two episodes where Muslim leaders had displayed generosity.[68] In the siege of Damietta in the Fifth Crusade the Sultan Al-Adil provided bread to the crusaders to prevent starvation, '*hostis in hoste pius,*' and in the Barons' Crusade Amaury, son of Simon de Montfort, was released from captivity in 1241.

John does not try to explain Islamic beliefs, though he comments obliquely on their polygamy.[69] He pours ridicule on their God, making comparisons both with the beliefs of ancient Egypt and the deified vegetables of Juvenal's *Satires*.[70]

---

reflected contemporary views of the Jews and was reinforced by Jewish perceptions at the time. See also Jackson (2005), 143–44.

61 *DTE*, 7.83–84, *CM*, 4.78.

62 *DTE*, 7.91–100, 243–50.

63 *DTE*, 8.193–94. John does not follow Innocent III's characterization of Muhammad as the Beast of the apocalypse in his encyclical of 1213, *Quia maior*, see Cole (1991), 104–09. For Western Christian perceptions of Muhammad and Muslims more generally, see Tolan (2008).

64 *DTE*, 8.392, 7.217–18.

65 For deceit, *DTE*, 8.439, 451–52, Prologue.67; depravity, *DTE*, Prologue.67, 2.247, 8.391, and Tolan (2008), 14; impiety, *DTE*, 2.248, 8.453–54; cruelty, *DTE*, 2.251–4.

66 *DTE*, 3.139–42.

67 *Arabus, Assyrius, Babylonicus, Casius, Egyptus, Lageus, Medus, Palestinus, Parthus, Persis, Pharus, Semiramus.*

68 *DTE*, 7.163–78.

69 *DTE*, 2.203.

70 *DTE*, 8.195–96, 276–78. Tolan (2008), xii–xiii & 1–18, argues that even by the early Twelfth Century Islam was increasingly seen as a heresy, rather than paganism. While John is happy to lump Muslims with heretics and Jews as enemies of the Church, his knowledge of Islam is clearly limited.

CHAPTER 9

The Seventh Crusade (1248–54)

Preparations

This introduction has already considered John's portrayal of Louis IX as a king and the similarities between his account of the Seventh Crusade and that of Matthew Paris. I have suggested that at the time of the Council of Lyon John collated various earlier material. He intended to write a major work, culminating in the recovery of Jerusalem and the defeat of the Muslims in Louis IX's planned expedition in response to the Pope's call in 1245. We have also considered *De triumphis* as an *excitatio* for Louis' crusade. With the benefit of hindsight, John is able to identify Louis' acquisition of the Crown of Thorns and the Holy Cross (1240–41) and his construction of Sainte Chapelle (1242–48) to house them as the '*militie sacre… praeludia quedam.*'[1] To emphasise the importance of acquiring the relics John reverts to them in his final synopsis.[2] John brings out the moral qualities required by a crusader, and throughout presents Louis as an exemplary leader, albeit capable of error.

Louis' crusade is the contemporary back-cloth against which the major events of John's lifetime are assessed in *De triumphis*. John sees the Third Crusade as its natural precursor, and the root of conflicts frustrating early action. In Chapters 7 and 8 above, we have examined further delaying factors, the heretics in the Languedoc, the Mongols, the wars between the pope and the emperor, and Anglo-French hostilities. John understands too the need for Louis to defeat or be reconciled with his enemies and confident of his realm. 'None of the magnates dared come to the aid of the deserving Church, so long as he feared losing what he possessed'.[3] He noted the settlements with Hugh X de Lusignan, Raymond VII of Toulouse, and the truce with Henry III of England and its renewal. John is particularly full of praise for Blanche of Castile who as Louis' regent ably governed France despite the absence of the king and his brothers.

John describes Louis' near-fatal illness in 1244 as '*felix,*' because its direct consequence was that 'the whole of France took the Cross' ('*baiula facta Crucis*'). He says nothing of Blanche's efforts to dissuade Louis, either then or later.[4] When he took the Cross in December 1244, Louis very probably knew that the Khwarazmians had sacked Jerusalem on 23 August; but it is most unlikely that he could yet have known of the catastrophic defeat of the Latins at La Forbie on 17 October 1244.

---

1 *DTE*, 2.63–76.
2 *DTE*, 8.573–74.
3 *DTE*, 2.73–74. See also *DTE*, 3.7.
4 *DTE*, 7.405–06. On Blanche, see Joinville, 106, *CM*, 5.3.

Louis' army probably numbered around 15,000, including 2500–2800 knights, with some 1900 from France. This figure was 'for the period … a sizeable one.'[5] John however, again with the benefit of hindsight, consistently plays down the size of the force, and presents it as facing overwhelming odds.[6] Yet at the same time he exaggerates its international composition. It was in fact, as Jackson puts it, 'an overwhelmingly French affair.'[7] Frederick II stood aside, wholly engaged in defending himself against Innocent IV's parallel crusade directed against him, latterly in failing health. John records with regret the early deaths of Raymond VII of Toulouse at Marseille and Hugh X de Lusignan at Damietta. He praises the valour of Olivier de Termes, another very recently reconciled southern noble, and of the Englishman William Longespée II, who died at Mansourah.[8] Curiously he does not mention the death there of Hugh XI de Lusignan, so soon after his father's.

The Crusade

John recounts Louis' departure from Aigues Mortes, hinting darkly at treachery,[9] and his delay in Cyprus, the rendezvous point with forces from Outremer. Like Joinville later, John dwells on the perils of the sea, implicitly countering contemporary criticism of Louis' delay on Cyprus. In line only with Matthew Paris, John says that the crusaders' initial destination was Alexandria, but that they were forced by the weather to put into Damietta.[10] Unable to ride straight out because of the tide, the knights were forced to fight the Egyptian cavalry standing in deep water. All this is described dramatically, including a vivid metaphor from chess.[11]

Just as in his description of the Albigensian Crusade, John focuses on the two major set-pieces of the campaign, the contested landing at Damietta and the battle of Mansourah. He grapples with the same agonising questions as Eudes of Châteauroux in his two sermons marking the anniversary of Robert of Artois' death at Mansourah. He had clearly read Eudes' words.[12] The war against the Muslims was a just one, since they had attacked the Holy Land, which belonged to the Christians. The king who led it was deeply pious. Yet the king's brother and the flower of the French aristocracy and the Templar order had been trapped and hacked to pieces in a squalid Egyptian town. How could God allow this to happen?

---

5 On the size of Louis' army, see Jordan (1979), 65–70, Jackson (2007), 63–64, Le Goff (2009), 124–25, 133–34.

6 *DTE*, 8.255–56, 455–56.

7 *DTE*, 8.97–98, Jackson (2007), 23–25. See also Jordan (1979), 29–34. Frederick II stood apart from the crusade despite the presence of a small German force. On the complexities of the Emperor's position see Jackson (1979), 40–48.

8 *DTE*, 8.355–56, n. 117; *CM*, 5.158.

9 *DTE*, 8.113–16.

10 See 53 above.

11 See *CM*, 6 (*Add*), 152–54, and Le Goff, (1996), (2009), 298–99.

12 Cole (1991), 177–84, texts at 235–43. Compare, for example, John's use of the David and Goliath analogy at *DTE*, 8.489–90.

John goes further than Eudes in laying the blame on excesses of the occupying army and its leaders, with the notable exception of Louis himself.[13] As noted earlier he nevertheless openly refers to the 'failure' of the king and to the 'disgrace' / '*dedecus*' suffered by Louis and the Church. John places beyond doubt the whole-hearted support of the French nation for Louis, despite blaming the 'over-bold' army for pressing on beyond Mansourah. As usual John does not name names, but by implication holds the king's brothers at least morally responsible. Eudes blames original sin and the general shortcomings of Christians as the reason for France's humiliation. Both Eudes and John, following Louis' letter to his French subjects of August, 1250[14] exalt the martyrdom of those killed as a victory over death itself.[15]

John's narrative of events is largely in line with the king's own version, subsequently incorporated in Vincent of Beauvais' approved account of the crusade. Despite his close interest in siege engines in the siege of Toulouse, John does not refer to their important role in the critical battles around the River Tanaos, described in Louis' own letter. John hails the death of the Sultan as-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub as a miracle, just as Louis had regarded the initial abandonment of Damietta. Also miraculous was Louis' survival in good health.[16] It was as though God always stood ready to intervene, despite letting the Christians lose. John notes Louis' fortification of Caesarea, implemented from April 1251, and it is clear that Louis was still in the Holy Land when John stopped work on his text.

Hopes for the future

In August 1250, Louis IX had appealed for reinforcements in the Holy Land, supported by appeals from Pope Innocent IV,[17] and was still seeking help from his brother Alphonse in his letter of 11 August 1251.[18] That same year, a popular movement in France, known as the Crusade of the Pastoureaux, and initially a response to the king's appeal, became unruly and eventually had to be suppressed by the regent, Blanche. John does not mention it. There was no significant external boost to Louis' position. A trickle of knights came to Outremer from France, but a crusade planned by Alphonse of Poitiers never materialised. Frederick II remained preoccupied with his own empire and Innocent IV's intrigues against him until his death in December 1250.

Louis' setback in Egypt was, John assures his readers, '*iactura levis*' / 'a trifling loss.'[19] Louis himself would avenge his own just causes. John saw many reasons for optimism. The fortunes of war fluctuated, and John saw a reverse shift in military

13 *DTE*, 8.249–50, 295–96, 311–12, 415–18, 478.
14 Du Chesne, 5.428–32, trans. Jackson (2007), 108–14.
15 See Cole, d'Avray and Riley-Smith (1990) for an analysis of how defeat was rationalized.
16 *DTE*, 8.495.
17 Berger (1881-[1920], nos 4868, 4926, 4927, *Annales monasterii de Burton*, 1.293–95. Jackson (2007), 197–201, conveniently groups translations of Innocent's letters.
18 Layettes, vol. 3, 139–40.
19 *DTE*, 8.497.

fortunes. He also took heart from apparently favourable developments. Henry III of England took crusading vows in 1250, though he never embarked for the Holy Land. Ferdinand III of Castile and León also took the Cross in that year, but died on 30 May, 1252. Louis agreed in 1251 to ally with the Egyptians against the Sultan of Aleppo, as a condition of release of the remaining prisoners. John expresses no qualms, and tells us that Louis hoped to convert the Egyptian sultan. He hails an alliance lasting fifteen years. In the event the Egyptians and Syrians were reconciled in 1253,[20] and John's optimism remained unfounded.

20 *DTE*, 8.520–28.

CHAPTER 10

Conclusions

The aim of my work is to produce a text as close as possible to what John of Garland intended and to make this remarkable poem available to scholars in coherent and accessible form. In doing so I have proposed many emendations to Wright's 1856 version, often restoring the original manuscript readings. I have also extensively re-punctuated it and tentatively suggested new, illustrative text in the *lacunae*. Several formerly nonsensical passages now make perfect sense through simple transposition of lines. Further major reorganisation, especially of the *Exhortatio ad crucem suscipiendam*, is suggested, but only by italicisation. This introduction together with the footnotes extends the basis of existing scholarship to place the poem in fresh perspective. In so doing, I have looked more widely at John of Garland and his works, the military and political events about which he wrote, and the academic communities to which he belonged.

De triumphis Ecclesie is not a great work of creative writing or classical prosody. Nor is it a new original source on historical events, though it does contain a valuable first hand account of the early days of the *studium* in Toulouse. What makes the poem remarkable is its unfinished urgency despite having taken a lifetime to write, its erudition and ambition, its historical perspective and, perhaps above all, its sheer intensity of feeling, whether devotion to the Virgin and the Cross or denunciation of the many objects of John's disapproval.

A rallying cry

'For what Catholic, on hearing that such a grave crisis has befallen our dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of France, his brothers and the Christian army, will not be excessively cast down and burst into lamentation?'[1]

So wrote Pope Innocent IV to Queen Blanche in August, 1250. *De triumphis* can be given a clear final date of 1252. John of Garland had planned a triumphant finale, celebrating Louis IX's long-anticipated victory in Egypt and final recapture of Jerusalem. Instead, to explain Louis' failure, and God's apparent desertion of His champion, he made late and radical changes. He blames the high command of Louis' army for incurring divine disfavour through greed and pride, hinting that in doing so he is taking a serious personal risk. Instead of victory in battle, he hails crusading martyrdom as the supreme triumph of the Church; and he passionately lends his voice to urgent appeals for a fresh crusade. There were two clear imperatives for

1 Schaller (1993), 283–328, trans. Jackson (2007), 167.

rushing the poem into circulation: the pressing need for manpower in the Holy Land, and to reassure Christians that God had not abandoned them. Both messages are powerfully addressed to John's clerical colleagues at a time of spiritual wavering and social upheaval in France. Beneath the rhetoric and bravado, the shock of Mansourah can still be felt.

A contemporary view of the period

John presents an engaged and consistent if selective and focused account of the period 1189–1252. He tracks Angevin / Capetian resentments, aroused during the Third Crusade, through the reign of King John, and then, he alleges, fanned by Isabella of Angoulême to set Henry III against Louis IX. John never loses sight of the paramount importance of the Holy Land to Christians. The Muslim enemy remains the principal target of Western Christendom, and Jerusalem its main goal. He draws clear parallels between the Third and Seventh Crusades, and between Kings Richard I and Louis IX, and remains an unflinching critic of Christian in-fighting. He sees wars against heretics and the Mongols, though necessary, as additional distractions.

John's strong support of the papacy and the Church is tempered by criticism of bishops more interested in politics and wealth than in spiritual matters. He clearly admired Louis IX and upheld the rights of kings over their vassals. But he also felt sympathy, obvious in his treatment of the counts of Toulouse, the Lusignans and the Trencavels, for those who fought for their ancestral rights, central to the Southern concept of *paratge*. On the big issues of principle John does not step out of line, but he is independent enough to criticise even the pope and the king of France.

True to his elegiac mode, John does not confine himself to the deeds of the great. He shows a clear empathy with the helpless rural victims of knightly pastimes of warfare and tournaments, and of those who suffer old age, sickness and shipwreck. Here and there too in the poem are everyday schoolmasterly rules for remembering things, like the number of days in the month, the date of Easter, the sequence of the planets or signs of the zodiac. And never far away is the alienating language reserved for heretics, Jews and Muslims.

A major source on the Toulouse *studium*

De triumphis has long been recognised as an important source of information about the early days of the university of Toulouse. The prose 'prospectus' letter at the end of Book 5, and the description of the syllabus give an orderly and perhaps idealised view of a chaotic and dangerous environment. As well as remission of sins, the Church authorities offered academic freedoms not available in Paris, including access to banned books, to attract striking Masters and Scholars to a recent war zone. But the *studium* lasted only as long as Raymond VII could or would offer protection and salaries. The Church was swift to shift its focus to the Dominicans and the inquisition as its chosen weapons against dissent.

Unusually, grammar was set up as a separate discipline from the wider arts syllabus. This was probably a measure to combat Occitan both as a spoken and literary language. The emphasis John places on music — '*musica cuncta ligat*'[2] — and the references in the 'prospectus' make it clear that the Paris scholars introduced Northern music and no doubt the liturgies it accompanied as a civilising and proselytising force.

An intellectual tour de force

De triumphis is crammed with classical quotations and allusions, rhetorical devices, linguistic rarities and liturgical echoes. No editor will find them all. John pays literary tribute to Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and Statius, and intellectual homage to Horace and Cicero. The poem exudes the biblical learning John shared with his intended readers. It reflects his admiration of the previous generation of schoolsmen, Alan of Lille and John Beleth, and displays his familiarity with the Church fathers and hagiographers, encyclopedists and theologians. Perhaps from his Languedoc days, John clearly knew vernacular poetry. He shows too his wider interest in the arts, borrowing the language of medicine, natural science and music.

Where John describes historical events he is clearly familiar with many of the sources on which we still rely. I have in particular shown evidence of a close link with Matthew Paris or at least with the Benedictine Abbey of St Albans.

The poem emphatically did not deserve the dreadful initial reception it was accorded by Le Clerc and Hauréau, partly a consequence of Wright's confusing and thinly annotated text. Wright himself says 'The style of John of Garland is ambitious and pedantic, and displays the schoolman vain of his accomplishments.'[3] *De triumphis* is however, 'interesting in many points of view… a remarkable monument of the lighter (*sic*) scholastic literature of the age… full of allusions to contemporary events, given in a tone which conveys more of the general sentiment of the time than we gain from the chroniclers.' Paetow partially rehabilitated it. John must now speak for himself.

An intensely personal statement

John sprinkles clues about himself in *De triumphis Ecclesie*, while telling us tantalisingly little. The main clues to his birthplace lie in other works, but this poem supports the case for Essex rather than Berkshire origins. It provides no help in establishing when John went to Paris or what ecclesiastical offices he may have held. It offers strong pointers to his possible aristocratic allegiances, without offering proofs. It strongly cautions second thoughts on some of the works attributed to John, and about whether John the Grammarian really was a different person from John the Musician.

---

2 *DTE*, 6.49.
3 Wright, xi.

John brings to life the muscular Christianity of post-war Toulouse and the hazards of long-distance travel, but disappointingly he describes rumbustious events in Paris as an observer rather than a participant, and does not discuss here his own Parisian life at all. He rails at his contemporaries' disdain for the arts, stinginess towards their practitioners, and respect for wealth. John's humanity shines through the constraining metre of *De triumphis.* He hints at old age and failing health, but we know that he lived until at least 1258. Louis Holtz[4] has shown the intensity of John's religious devotion to the Virgin in the *Epithalamium*. That same fervour and penitence are repeatedly present in *De triumphis Ecclesie*, expressed in language just as passionate. It is fair to conclude that this poem was intended by John as his literary and spiritual testament, bringing together the events of his lifetime, the skills of his professional life, his confident hopes for the future of Christianity and his deep religious commitment. It is a sad irony that, for whatever reason, he did not complete it, and virtually no-one has read it … .until now.

4 Holtz (2012).

Critical Edition

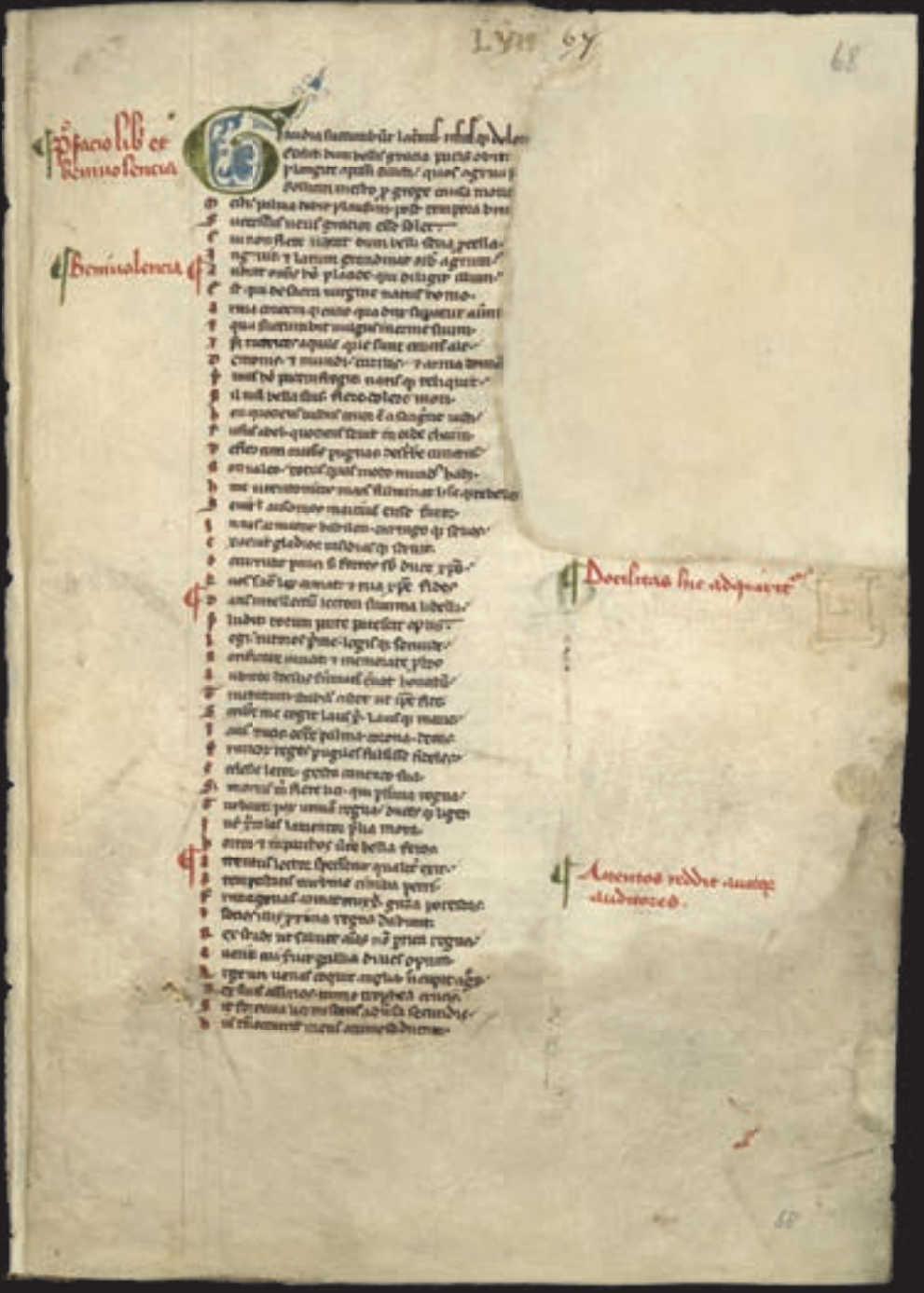

Plate 1. MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, f. 68r, *Incipit* to *De triumphis Ecclesie*.

Guide to the text

Orthography

The highly abbreviated medieval script of the manuscript been expanded into a continuous text. Orthography has been further harmonised as follows:

'i' for 'y' and 'j'.

'e' for classical diphthongs, 'oe' and 'ae'.

Standardisation on some classical forms, e.g. 'mi(c)hi', 'ram(p)nus,' 're(l)ligio,' '(h)abundo,' 'imprimo' (not 'inprimo'), 'opprobium' (not 'obpromium').

Annotation of text

{ … … } *lacunae* in which the editor has interpolated text.

[…] folio numbers in MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x.

< … > page numbers in Wright's edition, used by all existing secondary literature. These page numbers facilitate cross-referencing to earlier citations.

Order of lines

In some cases, the scribe of Cotton Claudius A x has jumbled the lines. In three very clear instances, 3.229–30, 3.283–84, and 4.179–82 in this edition, these have been clearly annotated and re-ordered to restore sense. Elsewhere, especially in the *Exhortatio ad crucem suscipiendos*, radical reordering would create a continuous narrative, but would also render cross-referencing with the manuscript and with Wright's edition (and hence with all previous scholarship) very difficult. The editor has therefore relied on footnotes and on italicisation of the text to signal other instances.

Translation

Usually Latin but often English is used for direct quotations from *De triumphis* but rarely both.

Preface

<1> Gaudia[1] succumbunt lacrimis, risusque dolori[2] [68r.]
Cedit, dum bellis gratia pacis obit.
Plangite, compassi cuncti, quos congrua p{ape}[3]
Solliciti mesto pro grege causa move{t}.
Mestis palma dabit plausum. Post tempora bru{me}
Successus veris gratior esse solet.
Cui non flere vacat[4] dum belli seva procella
Ingruit et latum grandinat orbis agrum?
Audiat omnis homo placide qui diligit illum,[5]
Est qui de sacra Virgine natus homo.[6]
Arma Crucemque cano qua dux superatur Averni,[7]
Et qua succumbit vulgus inerme suum.
Christi victrices aquile que sunt Crucis ale
Demonis et mundi carnis et arma domant.[8]
Primus homo[9] pacem fregit, natisque[10] reliquit
Nil nisi bella suis, flere dolere mori.
Heu, quotiens iustus cruor est a sanguine iusti
Fusus Abel, quotiens sevit in orbe Chaim,
Defleo. Cum causis pugnas describere cunctas
Non valeo, totus quas modo mundus habet.
Hinc in Teutonicos Mars fulminat,[11] hincque rebelles
Sevit in Ausonios martius ense furor.
In nos armatur Babylon, Cartagoque sevos[12]
Exacuit gladios insidiasque struit.
<2> Occurrunt pauci sed fortes sub duce Christo
Quos sacra lex armat et tua, Christe, fides.
Dans intellectum lectori, summa libelli[13]
Preludit, totum parte patescit opus.
Legis tutores prime legisque secunde

1 Rubric in left margin '*Praefatio libri et benivolentia.*' The initial '*G*' of '*Gaudia*' is enlarged and coloured in contemporaneously with the rubrics. The right margin of f. 68v down to line 25 has been carefully torn off to leave the text legible, perhaps to remove an illustration. See **Plate 1, p. 96** for the first page of MS.

2 '*In lacrymas risus, in fletum gaudia verto,*' is the opening line of Alan of Lille's *Liber de planctu naturae.* Alan (*c.*1128-1203) was a prolific scholastic writer whose works influenced John's writing and thinking, though it does not appear that they could have been contemporaries in Paris. See also *DTE*, 4. 203-10 & 8.40, and *PP*, 4.241-42, '*Sterne Mahometum, da leto, destrue letum,*' / '*Risus in fletum verte.*'

3 Only '*p*' is clear in the MS. Wright interpolates '*pacis.*' '*Pape*' fits both grammar and context, introducing the crusading theme. We know the MS was already torn here in 1802, Planta (1802), 190. Gregory Hays independently concurs with the restored text.

4 Statius, *Achilleid*, 1.936, '*cui vix flere vacat.*'

Preface

<1> Joys yield to tears, and laughter surrenders to grief, while enjoyment of peace is dying because of wars. Lament, all you fellow sufferers, who are stirred by the timely case advanced by a caring pope on behalf of his grieving flock. Victory will give cause for celebration to the downhearted; after the season of frost the arrival of spring tends to be all the more welcome. Who has not time to weep, when the savage storm of war assails us, and causes hail to fall on the broad lands of the whole world? Let every man listen calmly, who loves Him who was born a man of the holy Virgin. I sing of arms and the Cross, by which the lord of Hell is being conquered, and through which his rabble is disarmed and collapsing. The victorious eagles of Christ, who are the wings of the Cross, are taming the forces of the devil, the world and the flesh. The first man shattered peace, and to his children he left nothing but wars, weeping, grieving and dying. Alas, I am overcome with tears at how often the blood of the righteous has spouted from the blood of that righteous man, Abel, and how often Cain rampages in the world! I lack the strength to write about all the battles which the whole world is experiencing these days, with the reasons for them. In one place Mars strikes the Germans with his thunderbolts, in another the madness of war rages with its sword against the rebellious Italians. Babylon is up in arms against us, Carthage has sharpened its savage swords, and plans ambushes against us. <2> A few but brave men with Christ as leader go to meet them, armed by the sacred law and your faith, O Christ.

To help the reader understand, a summary of my book comes as a preface, and the whole work to a degree lies open to view. Tutors like to inform and remind the noble-

5 The rubric reads '*Benivolentia.*' The rhetorical aim of the prologue is to ensure that the audience is well-disposed (*benevolens*), attentive (*attentus,* line 41) and receptive (*docilis,* line 31). On history and poetry in the medieval educational framework, and for further reading in this area, see Introduction, pp. 50-52.

6 '*De sacra virgine natus homo,*' Prosper Aquitanus, *Epigrammata,* 62.10.

7 Vergil, *Aen,* 1.5, '*Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris…*'

8 P. Abelard, *Expositio orationis dominicae. Petitio sexta. PL,* 178, col. 617, '*Tria autem sunt, quae nos tentant, caro, mundus, diabolus.*'

9 Adam.

10 Cain, Abel and Seth.

11 This passage could well have been written in 1248 about the Emperor Frederick II's unexpected defeat by Italian rebels at Parma (18 February), with lines 25-26 referring to Louis IX's army. But it could also refer to the Mongol threat to Germany, Frederick's operations in Italy and the second phase of the Barons' Crusade under Richard of Cornwall (1240-1241).

12 '*Babylon*' is Cairo, used for 'Egypt' or 'the Egyptians' (see also n. 18 below); '*Carthago*' refers to the Moors of North Africa and by extension Iberia.

13 Rubric in right margin '*Docilitas hic adquiritur.*'

Notificare iuvat et memorare probos.[14]
Auditor docilis summatim cernat honestum
Tractatum, stabilis constet ut ipse fide.
Scribere me cogit laus Christi, lausque Marie,
Laus Crucis, Ecclesie palma, corona, decus.
Francorum reges pugiles fulsisse fideles[15]
Ecclesie letor gesta canendo sua
Sed motus mihi flere licet qui plurima regna
Turbant. Pax utinam regna ducesque liget.
Inter Christicolas lamentor prelia mota,
Hortor et in Parthos vertere bella feros.
Attentus lector speculetur qualiter exit
A tempestatis turbine cimba Petri.[16]
Francigenas armat crux Christi, gaza, potestas,
Et socios illis proxima regna[17] dabunt.
Rex studet ut salvet animas. Non Partica[18] regna
Querit[19], cui servit Gallia dives opum.
Argenti venas coquit Anglia,[20] nec cupit agros
Rex suus Assirios, immo trophea Crucis.
Sit fortuna licet miscens adversa secundis,
Hiis tamen occurrit mens animosa ducum.
{Ri}sum[21] qui siccet lacrimas mihi, Christe triumphans,[22] [68v.]
{Reddas, et} vati[23] pande trophea tuo.
{Maria Virgo}, fave; pigmenti cella favoris[24]
{Lasc}ivum[25] purga pectus et ora mihi.
{Ductores}defende tuos, confunde turannos
{Qui vexi}lla Crucis pecipitare volunt.
{Sepe potest}reges detractio ledere iustos,[26]
{Alter c}um laudes certat habere suas.

14 John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 4.6, '*Describet ergo Deuteronomium legis, id est, secundam legem, in volumine cordis: ut sit lex prima, quam littera ingerit, secunda, quam ex eo misticus intellectus agnoscit.*' *Polycraticus* is a manual for the education of princes.

15 An early reference to John's recurring theme of the Capetians as the champions of Christendom.

16 St. Peter's barque, symbol of the Church.

17 i.e. Spain and England.

18 'Egyptian' is variously designated *Babylonicus*, *Parthus*, *Assyrius*, *Persis*, *Semiramus*, *Palestinus*, *Lageus*, *Casius*.

19 See however Jackson (2007), 69-71 for persuasive evidence that Louis planned the long-term occupation of Egypt, citing among other documents the foundation charter of the proposed cathedral church of Damietta, signed by Louis outside Damietta in November 1249, ed. Richard, 'La fondation d'une église latine en Orient par saint Louis: Damiette,' *Bibliothéque de l'École de Chartres,* 120 (1962), 39-54, trans. Jackson (2007), 95-97.

20 England's richness in precious metals was proverbial, e.g. GM, 1.5.26-27, '*omni etiam genere metalli fecunda.*'

21 Wright reads '*]lum*'. '*Risum*' is consistent with the MS and a credible echo of the opening lines.

born of the first and the second laws [of Deuteronomy]. Let the attentive listener gain a general understanding of [this] worthy discourse, so that he can stand firm and confident in his faith. Praise for Christ, praise for Mary, praise for the Cross, the victory of the Church, its crown, its glory, [all] compel me to write. I rejoice that the kings of the French have shone forth as loyal champions of the Church by writing a poem about their deeds. But I can also weep of the upheavals which bring chaos to very many kingdoms. Would that peace might bind kingdoms and their leaders together. I lament the battles which have arisen between Christians, and I urge them to turn their wars against the savage Parthians. Let the attentive reader observe how the barque of Peter is escaping from the eye of the storm. The Cross, the treasure, and the power of Christ arm the French, and the neighbouring kingdoms will provide them with allies. The king devotes his energy to saving souls – he to whom Gaul, rich in resources, owes homage, is not seeking the realms of the Parthians. England is smelting its veins of silver, and its king does not desire Assyrian lands, but the trophies of the victory of the Cross. Although Fortune mixes bad luck with good, the courageous spirit of the leaders comes forth to confront it.

[*Lines 51-72 are incomplete, since the manuscript is torn on the left hand side. The editor has speculatively offered a restoration, which is translated here*]

Oh, Christ in your victory, give back the laughter to dry my tears, spread out your trophies [of battle] for your poet. Mary, Virgin, look kindly on me; storehouse of the sweetness of your approbation, purge my lusting heart and my lips. Protect your generals, overthrow the tyrants who want to send the standards of the Cross crashing down.

Yet slander can often damage just kings when someone else strives to claim their good reputation as his own. In his wretchedness he will be despatched into

22 The first few syllables are missing from the torn manuscript in lines 51-72. The editor's interpolations are consistent with the MS and offered with diffidence. The new text is unavoidably speculative. The missing letters are important because the Preface sets the tone for the whole poem.

23 Read '*vati*' / 'poet' with MS, not variant reading '*nati*' with Wright.

24 See *CG,* 1.54-56, '*…Maria / Virgo, fave, condire favo mea dicta favoris, / Et mea facta velis.*' See also *DTE,* 5.4 below.

25 Wright has '*]inum*'. An attractive possibility, equally consistent with the MS, is '*{lasc}ivum,*' a rueful allusion to Marbodus of Rennes' *Mens mea tristatur*: '*Lascivum pectus non debet habere senectus,*' Werner (1905), 89-90, no. 201.

26 The text here has been tentatively restored as a denunciation of corrupt clergy and nobles, themes to which John returns. *DTE,*1.203, & 2.550-54. For '*detractio,*' see *DTE,* 2.677-79. '*Manicas*' / 'sleeves/ maunches' were detachable garments, which even in the thirteenth century could carry armorial bearings. The word 'turncoat' literally derives its meaning from the medieval custom of turning clothes inside out when transferring allegiance from one lord to another.

<3> {Iniusto}rum laude miser mittetur in ignem.[27]
{Imperiu}m regum stabit honorque suus.
{Tentat vox v}ulgi verum[28] pervertere rectum,
{Iustum d}eterius dicere, curva sequi.[29]
{Famam nunc qu}idam vatum grassantur, amaro
{Ecclesia}m morsu dilacerare student.[30]
{Iustorum} laudanda trahunt, formosaque damnant,
{Manus inte}ntant appropriantque sibi.
{Armis}qui manicas sibi scindunt ex alienis,
{Alterius}tergo quod fuit ante suunt.[31]
{Veter}a si renovo vel si nova scribere tempto,
{Vergili}ique meo carmina scribo stilo,
{Hec Clio}[32] mea Musa gemit, gemituque represso
{Suspir}at, clamorem temperat egra suum.
Justus et iniustus clamore locantur in isto
Ut primo meritum noscat[33] uterque suum.

27 Matth. 7, 19, '*Omnis arbor, quae non facit fructum bonum, exciditur et in ignem mittitur.*'
28 Read '*verum,*' with MS, not '*unum*' with Wright. Ovid, *Met,* 15.607, '*vulgi vox eminet una.*'
29 '*curva sequi,*' Lucan, 5.459.
30 John often scans the second syllable of '*Ecclesia*' as long.
31 The reconstructed text then denounces detractors who claim credit for others' good deeds. John makes a disingenuous analogy with his own attempts to emulate the ancient poets.
32 Elsewhere, e.g. *MS*, 223, Paetow notes that John seems to view Clio as the muse of literature in general, not just history.
33 '*Noscat,*' with MS, for Wright's '*noscit.*' The sense is obscure, and the text may be wrongly restored, but John seems to be saying that even though his Muse expresses modified rapture at his puny efforts, when reputations are stolen, she cannot differentiate between the original and his imitator.

hellfire by the flattery of <3> the unrighteous. The rule of kings and its substance will stand firm. The voice of the mob tries to distort the straight line of the truth, to speak deprecatingly of what is right, and follow devious courses. Certain men nowadays are attacking the reputation of the ancient poets, and are striving to tear the Church to pieces by their bitter bite. They discredit the praiseworthy deeds of the righteous and condemn their beautiful possessions; [but] they stretch out their hands and lay claim to them for themselves. They separate the sleeves from other people's armour, and sew on their fronts what had been on another man's back. Whether I revise old material, or try to write new works, and write Vergil's poems in my own style, my muse Clio groans, then, suppressing her groans she sighs, and wearily tones down her applause. And in the light of that applause both righteous and unrighteous poets are given their valuation, so that each of them knows his worth at the start.

Prologue

Explicit prologus et sequuntur capitula libri principalis

Me socii rogitant quia res ignota refertur[1]
Quod caligo rei clarificetur eis.
Prologus ante venit, sequitur distinctio certa
Cum titulis operis peragraphisque suis.
Clarifico metrice capitalia membra, biformem
Reddit enim faciem dissona prosa metro.[2]
Effundo fletum cum flentibus[3] ut tamen ipsos
A fletu retraham, letitieque traham.
Pluribus exemplis[4] bellum dissuasio damnat
Sit nisi legitimum, iura fidemque sequens.[5]
(1) Vulnera nature primo sunt dicta libello
Impia fraus, heresis feda, cupido gravis.
(2)Vitricis vexilla[6] Crucis de more per hostes
Prosilient. Victrix hec fuit, est et erit.[7]
Intitulata patent papalia iura, rebelles
Hostes Ecclesie succubuisse dolent.[8]
<4> Hec probo per casus multos, mirandaque mundo
Gesta Crucis nostri quae meminere senes.[9]
Francorum turmas, Anglorum signa marinos
Casus cum signis temporis ordo tenet.
(3) Sanctorum palmas adiungo, qui sibi celi
Menia, regna, iubar, organa, serta metunt.
Laude triumphali variis meruere kalendis
Idibusque nonis ad sua festa coli.
Patris virgo parens primum mediumque serenat
Et finem, sine qua marcida metra iacent. [69r]
Idola, phana, deos impugno, diesque nefastos,
Nam sacer est opifex tempora sacra movens.

1 There is a break in the text and the initial 'M' has been coloured in later to indicate the break between Preface and Prologue. Arabic numerals in the left margin from 1-16 suggest an attempt by a fourteenth century reader or readers (the numerals 12-16 are in a different style or hand from 1-11) to annotate the themes in the Prologue (see Intro. 51-52 above).
'*Socii*' may just mean 'friends' or 'colleagues,' but in an academic context '*socii mei*' are often 'fellow students,' Weijers (1987), 168-69, 265-66.

2 Perhaps a reference to the prose section in *DTE,* 5. 365-446. Maybe John intended more substantial prose elements. Or maybe, and more probably, he is contrasting this verse synopsis with the prose rubrics or chapter headings.

3 Rom. 12.15, '*gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus.*'

4 '*Pluribus exemplis,*' see also *DTE,* 2.195.

Prologue

The prologue ends and the headings of the main book follow

My friends keep asking me, because unfamiliar subject-matter is being discussed, to lift the fog for them from this topic. The Prologue comes before, the list of contents follows, with the headings of the work and their respective paragraphs. I make clear the main sections in verse, since prose, contrasting with the verse, presents the picture in an alternative way. With those who weep, I shed tears, so that I can pull them back from weeping and draw them back to joy. My urgings against war condemn it by many examples, unless it is lawful, in line with legal rights and the faith.

(1) In Book One the wounds of Nature are recounted, impious deception, foul heresy, oppressive lust.

(2) The banners of the victorious Cross will surge forward through its enemies as they always do; the Cross was, is and will be victorious. The pope's rights are registered for all to see. The Church's rebellious enemies grieve at having given way to them. <4> I demonstrate this through many happenings, and through the feats of the Cross, which are to be wondered at by the world, and which our old men remember. My plan includes the battalions of the French, the banners of the English, the vagaries of the sea together with prognostications of the weather.

(3) I add the victories of the saints, who reap the reward of the ramparts and kingdoms, the radiance, musical instruments and garlands of Heaven. They have earned the honour of being worshipped in triumphant praise on their own feast days, on the various kalends, ides and nones. The Virgin, mother of the Father, calms the beginning, the middle and the end; without her the verses flag limply. I assail idols, temples, gods, and inauspicious days. For the Creator is holy, inspiring the holy seasons.

5 Here John introduces the concept of the just war; he roundly condemns wars, unless they are lawful, in line with [canon] law and the [Christian] faith. See also *DTE,* 1.214.

6 '*Vexilla Crucis.*' This originally referred to the battle standards themselves, portraying the Cross, but came by this time to be equated with the cloth badges sewn on to the shoulder of crusaders' outer clothing. See Gaposchkin (2013b), 55-58, (2017), 57-59 etc.

7 A close reflection of the formula in Rev. 1, 4, etc., '*qui est et qui erat et qui venturus est.*'

8 Probably a reference to Innocent IV's excommunication of Frederick II in 1245.

9 A hint that John drew on oral accounts by veterans of past Crusades.

(4) Naturas rerum lector legat hasque revolvat
Attentus. Res est ardua, prisca, nova.
Diversas belli causas evolvo cruenti.
Fortia nec tantum bella,[10] sed orta mala.[11]
Sunt hereses cause scelerum, violencia, fastus
Insidie, livor, fraus, dolor, ira, pudor.
Temperat adversis Deus huius prospera mundi,
Mens quia leta diu luxuriare solet.
(5) Phebus supreme rapitur vertigine sphere
Et duodena secat tramite signa suo.
Sed procul iniusti fugiunt a tramite recti,
Iustus in hiis igitur fidere nemo velit.
Crescit materia scelerum modo tanta quam[12] illam
Vix tango; numquam plura fuere mala.
Attentus maneat igitur qui vincere mundum
Hunc cupit, et sancte baiulus[13] esse Crucis.
(6) Insidiis Parthi pugnant furtoque fugaque[14],
Unde sibi caveat iusta caterva Crucis.
Strage Toresmini[15] terram lactisque favique
Fedant, quos[16] Babilon[17] Assiriique iuvant.
(7) Dum vastata iacet Ierosolima sancta, potentes
Plures qui servant plurima plura petunt.[18]
<5> Sed vos, o iusti, causas assumite iustas,
Assit larga manus, ausa, diserta, potens.
Quando pepercit Agag[19] hosti vindicta Saulis,
Offendisse pium dicitur ipse Deum.
(8) Fas est iniustos armis conpescere iustis,[20]
Multi sed spreto iure sequuntur opes.
Preda tamen rerum perit, et procedit honestas.
Et qui ius temptat spernere iure cadit.
In bellis, Josue, Moyses prece, Job patiendo,
Sit princeps,[21] Itacus pectore, dando Titus.[22]
Hoc duce nocturnam superat rosa leta procellam,
Et fuscum redimit vespera clara diem.

10 Ovid, *Rem.*, 373, '*Fortia Maeonio gaudent pede bella referri*' / 'Wars bravely fought take joy in being recounted in Maeonian metre (hexameters).'
11 Sallust, *Cat.*, 51.27, '*Omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt.*'
12 '*quam*' for Wright's '*quod.*'
13 i.e. a crusader.
14 It was a *topos* of medieval texts to accuse the Egyptians (or Turks) of unfair tactics in battle, see also Book 1, n. 52.
15 The Khwarazmians, a tribe driven eastwards by the Mongols, sacked Jerusalem and in alliance with the Egyptians destroyed the Christian forces at La Forbie in 1244, *CM*, 4.299-311. See Humphreys (1977), 275-76.
16 '*quos*' for Wright's '*quas.*'

(4) Let the reader read about the natures of things, and let him attentively study them; my theme is hard to grasp, ancient yet new. I unravel the various causes of bloody war, not only the bravely-fought wars but their evil consequences. The causes of crimes are heresies, violence, arrogance treachery, envy, deception, grief, anger and shame. God diminishes the lucky aspects of this world with adverse factors, because a spirit which is joyful for too long tends to become self-indulgent.

(5) Phoebus is swept along by the spinning of his globe, high in the sky, and cuts through the twelve signs in his track. But the unlawful stray far from the track of rectitude, so let no just man be willing to place his trust in them. The mass of criminal acts is growing so great now that I scarcely touch on it. Never have there been more evil things. Therefore let him remain vigilant, who desires to conquer this world and to be the bearer of the sacred Cross.

(6) The Parthians fight by cunning, by theft and flight, so the righteous company of the Cross should look out for themselves. The Khwarazmians are defiling the land of milk and honey with carnage, helped by Babylon and the Assyrians.

(7) While holy Jerusalem lies sacked, many of the mighty, who have huge possessions, are seeking even more. <5> But you, righteous men, take up these righteous causes. Let your mighty army come to our aid, daring, well-organised, and powerful. When Saul's vengeance spared his enemy, Agag, we are told he caused offence to a righteous God.

(8) It is our duty to subdue the unrighteous by force of righteous arms; but many pursue wealth in defiance of the law. Yet plundering possessions is self-defeating, and it is integrity that marches forward. Whoever attempts to treat the law with contempt, falls through the agency of that law. Let a prince be a Joshua in wars, a Moses in his prayer, a Job in his patience, Odysseus in intellect, and a Titus in generosity. Under such a leader the joyful rose overcomes the storm of night, and a clear evening makes up for the dark day.

17 'Cairo,' and shorthand for 'Egypt.'

18 Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.212, '*et, cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.*' Another barb against the warring nobles and kings of the West.

19 Read '*Agag*' not '*Achaz*' in MS and Wright, and '*vindicta*' with MS, not Wright's '*vindicia,*' Agag was spared by Saul contrary to God's orders (I Samuel. 15, 7-33). The righteous men of Christendom should likewise not spare the Muslims.

20 The adjective '*iustis,*' normally applied to men, is applied here to weapons, and example of the rhetorical trope *antonomasis.*

21 Louis IX was often projected in the image of Joshua, see Gaposchkin (2008). Le Goff (2009), 309-14, explores the contemporary comparison of Louis with King Josiah of Israel. On the other qualities of the ideal monarch, Wright, p. 144, notes 'Ulysses and the emperor Titus seem to have been regarded in the Schools as the classical models of courage and liberality'.

22 '*Itacus*' = 'Ithacan,' i.e. 'Odysseus/ Ulysses.' On Titus' reputed generosity see, e.g., Suetonius, *Titus,* 8, and *DTE,* 1.373-4.

(9) Sepe viris iustis sors intonat aspera cuius[23]
Vim frangit subito palma beata Crucis.
Arma pudicitie Cruce fulgent, gaudia mestis
Emergunt, portum post mare nauta capit.[24]
Perfida sed Persis Machometi fraudibus errat
Illecebras carnis dum studiosa colit.[25]
(10) Predictis partes capitales partibus addo,
Sicut declarat carminis ordo sequens.
Grecia succumbet tandem, vincentque Latini,
Illic Romanum servet ut ara modum.[26]
Mars et mors parili processu federa servant,
Et crescit gemitus undique causa mei.
(11) Hinc se Christicole perimunt, hinc Parthus in illos
Hinc furit hereticus. Iustus ad astra studet,[27] [69v]
Iustus in adversis non frangitur; immo coronam
Maiorem meritis gaudet habere suis.
(12) Tartaree gentis excessus exprimo diros[28]
In nos quam diram tartara dira movent.[29]
Ecclesie pacem turbat dum turba rebellis
Surrepens heresis hinc violare studet.
Cum ratione caro, fervor cum frigore, celum
Cum terra, purum cum lue, bella gerit.
<6> Das tamen ecclesie celebres, rex Christe, triumphos,[30]
Hancque triumphali premia ferre manu.
(13) Regi Ricardo dederas regique Philippo
Parthorum densos extenuare globos.[31]
Regi Castelle se subdit Corduba,[32] ferrum
Ferrardi recolit Hispalis ampla ferum.
Hospita Francorum Cypris[33] Ludovitica signa
Iam capit; in Pharios transvehit arma duces.
Tempore luserunt longo gentilia scripta;[34]
Deposcit tempus hoc sibi vera fides.

23 Read '*viris*', for Wright's '*iuris*'.
24 Read, with MS, '*Emergunt*' for Wright's '*Et mergunt.*'
25 See also line 45 above. The alleged lasciviousness of Muslims was a further *topos,* as here. See Introduction, 8, 86 & n. 65, with notes.
26 This appears to refer to the Greek rite generally, though it may be about current Greek military pressure on the Latins, who had seized control of much of the Byzantine empire, including Greece, in 1204. The Latin Empire sought Western help at the Council of Lyon in 1245, when John tells us he was working on *De triumphis*, *DTE*, 8.70. The Greeks recovered Constantinople in 1261. Harris (2003), 173-74.
27 '*Astra*' means '*heaven*' here.
28 In MS, the scribe has corrected '*duros*' for '*diros.*' For John's coverage of the Mongol invasions, see *DTE* 6.287-7.162.
29 Note the play on words. '*Tartareus*' / 'Mongol, Tartar', and '*tartarus*' / 'infernal,' pertaining to hell'. It is impossible to convey this in English.

(9) Often harsh fortune thunders at righteous men, but the blessed victory of the Cross suddenly shatters its power. The weapons of modesty shine through the [light of the] Cross, joys spring from the down-hearted, and after the voyage the sailor reaches port. But treacherous Persia sins through the deceits of Muhammad, as it keenly pursues the temptations of the flesh.

(10) I add important sections to the chapters I have already described, as the following list of contents for my poem makes clear. Greece will finally fall, and the Latins will be victorious, so that there the altar will observe the Roman rite. War and death march in step to keep their pacts, and on all sides the cause of my lamentation grows stronger.

(11) Here Christians slaughter each other, here the Parthians attack them, here the heretic rages. The righteous man looks to the stars; he is not broken in difficult times; instead he rejoices to have earned a greater crown.

(12) I describe the harsh atrocities of the grim Tartar race, which Hell in its grimness is directing against us. While the rebellious multitude disturbs the peace of the Church, heresy is creeping in to violate it. The flesh wages war with reason, heat with cold, Heaven with earth, purity with pollution. <6> Yet, Christ our king, you are granting frequent victories to your Church, and allowing it to carry these prizes in its triumphant hand.

(13) You had permitted King Richard and King Philip to thin out the serried ranks of the Parthians. Cordoba surrendered to the king of Castile; mighty Seville is reviving the fierce mettle of Ferdinand's steel. Cyprus, host to the French, is now holding the battle-standards of Louis and shipping his troops against the leaders of the Egyptians. The pagan writers have entertained us for a long time; but the true faith demands this moment for itself. I give present events priority

30 John first introduces the title theme, '*Ecclesie… . triumphos.*'

31 In the Third Crusade (1189-90), Richard I of England and Philip II of France recaptured Acre from the Muslims and won other territory.

32 Muslim-held Cordoba surrendered to Ferdinand III of Castile in 1236, and he captured Seville in 1248. N.b. John's passion for puns and alliteration, with '*Ferrum… Ferrardi… ferum.*'

33 Typically John chooses the rare, poetic form '*Cypris*', signifying 'Venus', the goddess always associated with Cyprus, rather than the usual '*Cyprus*'. Marguin-Hamon suggests that this may be an allusion to the underlying Aeneid. Louis IX wintered with his fleet in Cyprus between September, 1248 and May, 1249, en route to Egypt, *DTE*, 8.209-18. John appears to have written the Prologue around this time in anticipation of victory. Only lines 123-30 show any awareness of Louis' defeat in 1250, and were presumably added later.

34 '*gentilia scripta,*' Theodulf of Orléans, *De libris quos legere solebam*, 9, '*Legimus et crebro gentilia scripta sophorum.*' This leads on to line 95, in saying that he is giving priority to Christianity's wars of today over the entertaining battles of classical literature.

Profero[35] preteritis multis presentia, visa
Auditis, dubiis certa, probata vagis.[36]
Claram fuscavit heresis pro parte Tholosam;
Cuius purgatrix Crux mihi carmen erit.
(14) Addo terrarum conquestus orbis ab ortu
Distinguens annis singula queque suis.[37]
Cur et quid scribam tetigi; monstrabitur inde
Forma stili; forme convenit ordo suus.
Quantum differtur terre promotio sancte
Hereticis claudis carmina clauda docent.[38]
Versibus imparibus expirat synchisis,[39] umbra
Effugit, emergit lux ratioque patet.
Is modus est, elegos parit hic Elegia.[40] Risum
Proscribit, lacrimas evocat, ora rigat[41]
Post risum. Plorat fallacia, ridet amena
Sponsa Dei. Queritur ista,[42] sed illa canit.
Quid deceat, quid non pandunt exempla vicissim,
Vere virtutis ut teneatur iter.
(15) Pristinaque gestis intersero gesta modernis;
Dant lavacrum nostris antidotumque malis.[43]
Historias condire graves disgressio morum
Cernitur ut condit fercula secta sapor.[44]
Planctus multiplicat primus, causasque secundus
Fert liber. Effectum publicat ordo sequens
<7> Est numeri ratio triplex ternarius impar,[45]
Res incorruptas perpetuasque notat.
(16) Ecclesie sacre stilus exerit[46] iste triumphos[47]
Dans ex materia nomen habere libro.
Qui mundi pompam conculcat in urbe triumphans[48]
Celesti stabiles victor habebit opes.
Ad Stiga soldani missi, Damiatica damna,

35 Read '*Profero*' with MS, not '*Praefero*' with Wright.

36 A standard claim by historians of the period, e.g. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum et Anglorum*, 16-17, '*quicquid vero de recentioribus aetatibus apposui, vel ipse vidi vel a viris fide dignis audivi.*' See Introduction, 4, 49-50.

37 An ambitious and unfulfilled objective. John seems to have been contemplating a universal history or chronicle, on the lines of Isidorus or Vincent of Beauvais. The only conceivable trace of such a plan is *DTE*, 6.1-14, where John lists events of the year 1229 in chronicler's style.

38 '*carmina clauda*', '*versus impares*' = 'elegies', see Ovid, *Tristia*, 3.1.11, '*clauda quod alterno subsidunt carmina verso.*' N.b. John's juxtaposition of the literal and figurative meanings of '*claudus.*' Here he blames distractions like the Albigensian crusade and the papal dispute with Frederick II for delay in tackling the Muslims in the Holy Land.

39 Read, with Hays, 'synchisis' / 'hyperbaton' or 'deliberate reordering of normal order of words,' for MS and Wright, '*synchresis.*' On the use of elegiacs, see also 127-30 below, *DTE* 3.1-6, & 690-92.

over the many happenings in the past, things I have seen rather than what I have heard, certainties to doubtful reports, and proven facts to uncertain stories. Heresy did its best to cast bright Toulouse into darkness. The Cross which is cleansing it will be a part of my poem.

(14) I add in the conquests of lands from the beginning of the world, picking out each set of events by the years in which they occurred. I have touched on why I am writing and what I am writing about. From that the general idea of my style will become clear; the sequence of the poem fits the style. My stumbling elegiac poems teach how greatly the cause of the Holy Land is being set back by the stumbling heretics. With verses of unequal length, confusion dies, shadows slip away, light breaks forth, and reason is plain to see. This is my metre. Here Elegia gives birth to elegiac verses. She prompts laughter and calls forth tears, then moistens faces after the laughter. God's bride rails at what does not ring true, and smiles at the pleasing passages. She makes her complaint, but Elegia sings. Examples illustrate one by one both seemly and unseemly behaviour, so that the path of true virtue can be followed.

(15) I shall mix the deeds of time past with the deeds of modern times. They are a [relaxing] bath and a remedy for our ills. Digression is perceived as adding piquancy to serious tales of morals, just as flavouring spices the courses of a meal. The first book builds up the sources of grief, and second contains the underlying causes. The following sequence of books sets out their impact. <7> The basis of numbering is the odd number, thrice three; it records matters of abiding and universal relevance.

(16) This pen expounds the triumphs of the holy Church, giving the book its name from its subject matter. He who treats with contempt the outward show of the world, will enjoy lasting wealth in the Heavenly city, triumphant in victory. The

40 The editor, unlike Wright, personifies Elegy as appropriate, cp. Ovid, *Am.,* 3.1.7.
41 A savage echo of Vergil, *Aen,* 11.698, '*vulnus calido rigat ora cerebro.*'
42 Horace, *AP*, 75, identifies '*querimonium*' / 'complaint/lament' as the main subject-matter of elegy.
43 Tit. 3, 5, '*..salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et reninventionis Spiritus Sancti.*'
44 *Digressio* was a well-known technique of rhetoric, designed for example to entertain or persuade by analogy, Cicero, *De Inventione,* 1.19.27.
45 John's reference to the special quality of the number nine indicates that he planned the work with nine books. See also *DTE,* 1.111 & n. 42 and DTE, 8.3. For the actual number of books, however, see Introduction, 3, 40-41.
46 '*Exerit,*' more usually '*exserit*' / 'reveals.'
47 This indicates that John intended the title '*De triumphis Ecclesie.*' See also *DTE,* Preface.85.
48 See n. 33 above. Lines 123-30 look like a late addition to the Prologue.

Strages alterne, castra cruenta patent.[49] [70r]
Dicit Meonides[50] pectinem cognoscere quedam
Per que lucescant altera certa magis.
Sic gravis emergit elegia; querere planctu
Plausum, non planctum plausibus illa docet.[51]

49 A reference to the Seventh Crusade, covered in Book 8.

50 Read '*Dicit*' and '*pectinem*' with MS, for Wright's '*Vicit*' and '*petimus.*' Read also '*Meonides*' (Homer) for '*Aristoteles*' in MS and Wright. This is a reference to Ovid, *Fasti*, 2.120-48, which expresses Ovid's diffidence at using elegiacs, and describes the misdeeds of Augustus' predecessors so as to glorify his own reign. Ovid's lines 120-21 read '*vellem, Maeonide, pectus inesse tuum / dum canimus alterno pectine Nonas.*' In the same way frank narration of wrongful deeds in the crusade show the nobility of Louis' behaviour.

51 See *DTE*, 2.515-16 for an example.

sultans despatched to the Styx, their losses at Damietta, the mutual massacres, the blood-soaked camps are clearly described. Homer says that (the elegiac) lyre gains an understanding of certain things by means of which deeds narrated in the other (epic) mode shine forth with greater certainty. Thus our elegy emerges in weighty mode. It teaches us to seek applause through expression of grief, rather than to attract lament by offering commendation.

Book 1

Incipit opus principale

Quis furor, o miseri mortales, bella movere[1]
Pro terra? Terram terra tenebit homo.[2]
Est terre morsellus homo. Sed celica solum
Qui sapit ad celum pervenit absque solo.[3]
Que mens est homini cumulare dolore dolores
Continuo cuius vita labore labat.
Est tamen Ecclesiam iustum defendere sanctam,
Ut pereat sancte gens inimica Crucis.
Presbiteros aramque Baal destruxit Helyas[4]
Ut simili facto nos imitemur eum.
Hebreus gladio Mathatias truncat Hebreum[5]
Dum colit Anthiochi sacra nefanda metu.
Athlete fidei reges concurrite cuncti,
Quantum quisque Deum diligat, ense probet.[6]
Non retrahat validos labor ullus, sit licet ingens
In Parthos reprobos bella movere labor.
Sunt comitata duo labor et dolor ordine bellum,[7]
Que proprio presens ordine margo tenet.
Si labor est iustus, sunt premia iusta laboris;
Iniusto iuste pena labore datur.
<8> Cesaris imperium quid habet nisi ferre laborem?
Vix poterit noctis tempore quiete frui.
Qui caput est mundi Cesar gentem capit unam,[8]
Altera conatur in caput[9] ire suum.
Est princeps regum terre qui regnat Olimpo
Christus, qui reges altaque colla domat.
Vinci non poterit qui terre pondera librat.
Calcitrat in stimulum[10] quisquis acerbat eum.
Quanto maior erit descendere forte coactus
Culmine de summo, turpius ima petit.
Si quis deprimitur sed iuris agone resurgit
Illi pro palma gloria maior erit.
Primo commendo iustos in agone fideli
In quo papa prior premia victor habet.[11]

1 This line starts with a coloured, enlarged, capital after a space, and marks the beginning of the main body of the poem. The marginal rubrics read '*Incipit opus principale*' and '*De elegia cupiditatis et de labore et dolore in bellis ad tirendum et dissuadendum a bellis motis et movendis contra ecclesiam victricem.*' On line 1, see Lucan, 1.8, '*Quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri?*' Lucan goes on to reproach the Romans for pursuing civil war while Crassus lies unavenged in the East, a parallel with unavenged Jerusalem.

2 A reference to Gen. 1, in which God creates creatures, including man, from the earth.

Book 1

The main work begins

What madness is it, unhappy mortals, to trigger wars about land? Man, who is earth, will gain possession of earth. Man is himself a piece of earth. Yet only he who understands heavenly things reaches Heaven from the earth. What is the reasoning of man, to accumulate pain through pain, whose life is weakened by constant travail? Yet it is right to defend the holy Church so that a race hostile to the holy Cross should be destroyed. Elijah destroyed the high priests and altar of Baal, so that we might imitate him by a similar deed. The Jew Matthathias kills a Jew with his sword when in fear he performs the sinful rites of Antiochus. All you kings, run to meet each other, athletes of the faith! Let each of you prove with his sword how much he loves God. Let no degree of toil deter strong men, however massive the toil to make wars against the miscreant Parthians. The two, travail and pain, are companions to war in due order, which the present bounds keep in their respective places. If travail is righteous, so too are its rewards. If it is unrighteous, punishment is rightly meted out.

<8> What does Caesar's empire bring except travail? He himself will scarcely be able to enjoy the peace of the night. As Caesar who is head of the world conquers the lowliest of nations, another nation tries to go for his capital. There is a ruler of earthly kings who reigns on Olympus, Christ, who bends kings and the necks of the mighty to his will. He can never be defeated, who keeps the weight of the earth in balance. Whoever annoys him is kicking against the pricks. The mightier the man who is by chance obliged to come down from the highest peak, the more shamefully he seeks the lowest depths. If someone is cast down, if he rises again though lawful struggle, the greater the glory he will receive as the prize. First I commend righteous men in the contest of faith, in which the pope is the first to win the prizes as victor.

3 Wright's punctuation is amended. N.b. John's onomatopaeic repetition of '*terra.. terram.. terra,*' and use of '*solum*' in different senses. The figure extends to the next two lines, '*dolore.. dolores*' and '*labore.. labat.*' This multiple *polyptoton,* or repetition of the same word with different cases, is an elaborate form of '*ornatus*' (embellishment), part of the rhetorical armoury.
See, e.g. *PP,* 7.878-80.

4 Elijah, I Kings. 18, 38-40.

5 Matthathias, I Mach. 2, 1-24.

6 '*probet,*' with MS, for Wright's '*probat.*'

7 Cicero, *De finibus,*1.32, '*nonnumquam eiusmodi tempora incidunt, ut labore et dolore magnam aliquam quaerat voluptatem.*'

8 Read '*unam*' with MS and sense, for Wright's '*imam.*'

9 An untranslatable and complex pun on '*caput,*' which can mean 'master' and 'capital city' as well as 'head'. '*Caput mundi*' was a well-known description of Rome. This looks like a reference to the Emperor Frederick II, menaced by the Mongols as he struggles to subdue parts of Italy.

10 Act. 26, 14, '*durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitare.*' 'It is hard for you to kick against the pricks.'

11 A reference to the pope's continuing dispute with Frederick II, possibly specifically to the victory of the Italians and the pope over Frederick at the battle of Parma (1248).

Non est pauperibus iniuria cognita tantum
Sed subito turbat divitis illa statum.
Dum rex Arthurus Rome sibi regna subegit
Perdidit oceani regna nepote suo.
Occidens fratrem Galvanum clam ferus iste
Nomine Modredus sprevit[12] habere modum,
Proditor in bello cecidit. Proh! Lesus ab illo
Rex tumuli modicam victor habebat humum.
Anni quingenti quadragenique duoque
Virginis a partu preteriere sacre.[13]
Sub Cruce qui patitur mundana pericula pauper, [70v]
Eius in eterna pace triumphus erit.
Pulcra figura tau[14] Crucis est res mira; figura
Mira figurata cernitur esse magis[15]
Agno Paschali Christo. Quasi limina frontes
Crux signat, signo munit ab hoste[16] domum.
Sub Pharaone lutum lateresque trahebat Hebreus
Sed tandem Pharia liber abivit humo.
Leta Maria[17] soror Moysi nova cantica provisit
Hostibus absorptis cum Pharaone mari.[18]
<9> Veri pastoris pastoria sponsa Maria
Salvat oves, servat septa fugatque lupos.
Celi prepositus Michael animas legit illas
Mittendas orco separat, hasque polo.[19]
Ne desperetis, presto solacia vobis
Qui sancte geritis fortiter arma Crucis.
Cum volet Omnipotens, gens convertetur iniqua,[20]
Et pauci subdent plurima regna Deo.
Expurgat iustos tribulatio, mundat ut aurum
Fornax, et sicut grana flagella probant,
Ferrum lima domat, taurum stimulatio, prelum
Uvas, burnellum sarcina, chamus[21] equum.
Mundi deliciis ad celi gaudia nemo
Transit, sed celum pena laborque dabunt.[22]
Orbis opes huius miserum est cumulare, tenere,
Poscere; vir vacuus surgit ad alta levis.
Dic ubi sit Priamus, ubi magne gloria gentis,[23]
Aut ubi sit Troie nobilis urbis apex?

12 '*sprevit*' for Wright's '*spernit;*' the text is capable of either reading.
13 See GM.178, for these events and the date.
14 Read '***tau***' with MS, for Wright's '***tali.***' The Greek letter 'T' was widely used as symbolising the cross, particularly by St. Francis. The tradition is older. See Ez. 9, 4, '***et signa thau super fronte virorum gementium et dolentium***,' which was frequently quoted.' John refers to ***tau*** again at 2.877 below.

Injustice is not only experienced by the poor, but it suddenly dislodges the footing of a rich man. When King Arthur brought the realms of Rome under his power, he lost the kingdoms of the ocean through the action of his nephew. He was a vicious man called Mordred, who secretly slew his brother Gawain, scorning to observe any limits. He fell as a traitor in battle, but, alas, the victorious king was mortally wounded by him and possessed [only] the modest land needed for a tomb. All this took place five hundred and forty-two years after the holy Virgin gave birth.

A poor man who endures the dangers of this world in service to the Cross will enjoy his triumph in perpetual peace. The beautiful outline of the letter '*tau*' is a miraculous aspect of the Cross. The miraculous letter looks more as if it were imprinted by Christ the Paschal Lamb. The Cross marks foreheads as on a lintel, and by this mark protects the house from the devil. Under the pharaoh the Jews endured the mire and sands but finally escaped free from the land of Egypt. Maria, Moses' sister, joyously sang new songs as the enemy were sucked into the sea with their pharaoh. <9> Mary, pastoral bride of the true shepherd, keeps the sheep safe, guards the sheepfolds, and drives away the wolves. Michael, placed in authority over Heaven, sifts the souls, and separates those to be despatched to hell from those to be sent to Heaven. I show you comforts, lest you give up hope, who bravely bear the weapons of the holy Cross.

When the Almighty wills it, this wicked nation will be converted, and a few will conquer many kingdoms for God. Tribulation purges the righteous, just as the furnace purifies gold, flails separate out the grains, the file tames iron, the goad tames the bull, the wine-press crushes grapes, the burden the ass, the halter the horse. No-one crosses by means of worldly delights to the joys of Heaven, but pain and travail will grant him Heaven. It is wretched to hoard, or keep or demand the riches of this world. The man without substance is light and rises to the heights. Tell us where Priam is, where is the glory of his mighty race, where is the citadel of the noble city of Troy?

15 Wright's punctuation is modified here.
16 'the Devil'.
17 Miriam, who appears as 'Maria' in Ex. 15, 20.
18 Read '*provisit*' for Wright's '*promsit.*'
19 The Archangel Michael traditionally determined the destination of the souls of the dead.
20 Here John looks forward to the eventual conversion of the Muslims and conquest of their lands for Christianity.
21 '*c(h)amus*'/ 'halter' is a rare, non-classical, word used only in ecclesiastical Latin, e.g. Ps. 31, 9.
22 John refers back to his digression on effort and pain. He agrees with Cicero that neither is an end in itself. Both are needed for the pursuit of the ultimate joy of heaven.
23 Vergil, *Aen.*, 6.767, '*Troianae gloria gentis.*'

Saturnus Crete rector fuit a Jove nato
Expulsus;[24] miseros quos ferus orcus habet.
Cernitur, O reges, magnos precedere pauper
Parvus, paupertas quem moderata premit.[25]
Suffert Ecclesia varios operosa labores
Nunc huc, nunc illuc, sedula mittit opem.
Tristes confortat, egrotos visitat, orat,
Predicat, exsuperat probra, flagella, minas.
Hac in valle miser misera pro posse laborat
Hospes homo.[26] Varia condicione tamen
Fortis, cismaticus[27], iustus, terram, Styga, celum
Protegit, intrat,[28] habet, robore, fraude, fide.
Paulus pro celo vite dispendia sensit,
Per mare, per terras, victor ubique tamen.
Nudis Ecclesie tribuens eraria[29] flammas,
Laurenti,[30] superas craticuleque rogos.
<10> Presentis pape sic mens robusta cruentos
Non metuit gladios martiriique minas.[31]
Francorum princeps, nulla formidine belli
A Christo resilit militiaque Crucis.[32]
Christi nulla Crucis gravis est elegia iusto
Qua vite fructus dulce pependit onus.[33]
Papa vigore viget; cecidit quasi[34] vertice fracto [71r]
Hostis Ely pueros per pia verba suos,
Gregorii quartus In papa Nocentius heres[35]
Hostibus occurrit canonis ense sui.[36]
Celestinus enim presedit tempore parvo.[37]
Quid mirum? Nequeunt stare caduca diu.[38]

24 Priam and Saturn are offered as further examples of the futility of riches.
25 John is contrasting the vigour of the Church in responding to the challenge in the Holy Land with the kings' reluctance to mount an expedition.
26 This difficult and laboured passage may allude to Ps. 83, 7, '*in valle lacrimarum.*' See also *EBVM,* 9.519, '*misera de valle.*' '*Hospes*' most likely refers to man's temporary stay on earth as a 'guest.'
27 A less usual variant of '*schismaticus,*' here meaning 'heretic.' Lines 83-84 are a particularly elaborate example of '*distributio*'/ 'accumulation,' with three sets each of corresponding subject/object/verb/ablative.
28 Read '*intrat*' with MS for Wright's '*mirat.*'
29 With Wright, read '*eraria*' for '*erraria*' in the text.
30 St. Lawrence, here addressed in the vocative case, an example of *apostrophe.* St. Lawrence was reportedly martyred by roasting on a gridiron in Rome in 258 for distributing Church wealth to the poor instead of surrendering it for confiscation by the state, JdeM, 298-300.
31 This is probably a reference to the pressures from Frederick II, which led Innocent IV to flee Rome in disguise in 1244, prior to the Council of Lyon.

Saturn was ruler of Crete, but was driven out by his son Jupiter. Harsh hell holds them [all] in their misery.

O kings, the humble pauper, whom straitened poverty keeps under its pressure, is seen to go ahead of the great. The hardworking Church bears various toils. It diligently sends help, now here, now there. It comforts the down-hearted, visits the sick, prays, preaches, and comes out on top of insults, blows and threats. Mankind wretchedly strives with all his might as a guest in this valley of wretchedness. But depending on their condition, brave men protect the earth by their strength, schismatics go to hell through their deceit, and the righteous possess Heaven through their faith. Paul used up his life on Heaven's behalf, but was everywhere victorious, on sea and on land. Assigning your treasury to the naked of the Church, Lawrence, you conquered the flames and the pyres of the gridiron.

<10> In the same way the strong will of the present pope did not fear bloody swords, and the threats of martyrdom. The king of the French did not through any dread of war shrink back from Christ or the military service of the Cross. No elegy on Christ's Cross weighs on a righteous man who has hung on it the fruits of his life as a sweet burden. The pope is forceful in his energy; just as by virtue of his devout words the enemy killed Eli's sons, and his neck was broken, so Innocent IV, heir to Gregory, confronts his enemies with the sword of canon law. Celestine was pope for a very short time. What is surprising in that? Things which are falling cannot stay upright for long.

32 Louis IX took the Cross in 1244. These lines appear to have been written between the Council of Lyon and the start of the Seventh Crusade.

33 Ovid, *Fasti,* 2.760. '*deque viri collo dulce pependit onus.*' Neither John nor his readers would be unaware that this passage of Ovid immediately precedes the rape of Lucretia, and touchingly describes Lucretia herself hanging as 'a sweet burden' round her husband's neck.

34 Read '*quasi*' for Wright's '*quia,*' and '*pueros… .suos*' for '*pueris… .suis*' in MS and Wright. John likens Innocent IV's robust attack on his enemies, notably Frederick II, with Eli's devout acceptance, I Sam. 3, 18 – 4, , 18, that his sons must die in battle. Eli himself broke his neck. John urges Innocent IV not to shrink from full severity towards Frederick II. Wright's punctuation is amended.

35 John splits '*In-nocentius*' because the word will not otherwise scan. See Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova,* 1-3, '*… si dixero Papa Nocenti / Acephalum nomen tribuam; sed I caput addam Hostis erit metri,*' and *EBVM,* 4.97.

36 Innocent IV was an expert in canon law and used it as his weapon against Frederick II. '*Canonis*' is also hard to scan, with three short syllables. John glosses over this difficulty here and in line 214.

37 Pope Celestine IV, pope for 17 days from 25 October-10 November 1241. *CM,* 4.172. '*virum moribus praeditum et scientia, sed in aetatem senilem jam declinantem et debilitatum.*'

38 John acknowledges Innocent IV as Gregory IX's true heir ('*heres*') by the double entendre of '*caduca,*' meaning both 'frail, falling' and also '*bona vacantia.*'

Spiritui labor incumbit caro dum rationi
Obstrepit, et ratio fortia frena capit.
Spinis urticisque sue Benedictus[39] abegit
Carnis pruritum, demoniique stilos
In specie merule sanctum stimulaverat hostis,[40]
Sed contra stimulum spina ferebat opem.
Pro fidei palma Katerine nobile corpus
Machina contorsit; vicit at illa rotas.[41]
Trinus et unus eis dat pro mercede triumphum,
Hos cum ter trinis glorificando choris.
Nunc pro terrenis homines mactantur,[42] Olimpo
Postposito, passi bella, flagella, stragem.
Hactenus ostendi comitantes arma labores;
Nunc quid agant hominum crimina flere vaco.[43]
Exemplis variis probitatis[44] sepius ortor,
Ne validi teneant improbitatis iter.
Suspiro dampnis que gignit iniqua cupido,
Qua fragiles artus mors animasque rapit.
Elatus, livens, irascens, segnis, avarus,
Ventrosus, petulans, in sua damna ruunt.
Humani generis excessus prodit ab illis,
Sicut in hiis elegis fert mea Musa prius.
<11> Nullus in orbe novo utros diviserat hostis,[45]
Nullus adhuc gladios qui fabricaret erat.
Glandes et fructus nemorum pro fruge legebant.
Non aurum, gemmas tunc sitiere viri.[46]
Funestos belli casus incurrere debent
Alterius terras qui sine iure petunt.
Succubuere Gothi; defecit Vandalus, Huni
Victi senserunt fortia septra[47] Crucis.
Mendax hereticus, caro lubrica, plebsque fidelis
In se Marte ruens, tres tria bella movent.[48]
Fine tamen vario certant, pugnat quia iustus
Ad pacem, pretium mortis iniquus habet.
Ecclesie quidam[49] fortes, pro pace statuti,
Offendunt iustum sanguinis ymbre Deum.[50]
Prelia non cessant per partes quatuor anni,
Ut plus possideat Memphis avara sitis.[51]

39 Read '*Benedictus*', with MS, for Wright's '*vindictus*'.

40 '*In specie merule*', see Bartholomew of Trent, 86.18-20. '*Hostis*' means 'the devil'.

41 St. Catherine of Alexandria, fourth century saint and martyr, by tradition beheaded after her miraculous destruction of the wheel on which she was being tortured, JdeM, 485-89.

42 '*terrenis*', a play on '*ter trinis*'. See also Prologue, n. 45, & 1.132. John laments the priority given to wars between Christians over the holy war against the Muslims. N.b. '*Olimpi*', meaning 'heaven'.

Toil overcomes the spirit while the flesh rails against reason, and reason holds powerful reins. With the help of thorns and nettles Benedict drove away the promptings of his flesh, and the coaxings of the devil; the old enemy had tempted the saint in the guise of a blackbird. But the thorns brought him help against temptation. So that the faith could triumph, the mechanical device twisted the peerless body of Catherine, but she prevailed over the wheels. Three in one, He grants them victory as a reward, by glorifying them with thrice three choirs. Nowadays men are being slaughtered for earthly rewards, suffering wars, scourgings and massacre, putting Heaven in second place.

Thus far I have set out the toils which accompanied fighting; now I have space to bewail what the sins of men are causing to happen. I offer frequent encouragement through various examples of nobility, to prevent strong men holding to the path of dishonour. I sigh at the hurts to which unjust longing gives birth, through which death seizes brittle limbs and souls. The proud, envious, angry, lazy, greedy, pot-bellied, lascivious, all rush to their own destruction. It is from them that the death of the human race proceeds, as my Muse tells earlier in these elegiacs.

<11> When the world was new, there was no Devil to set two sides against each other; there was as yet no-one to manufacture swords. People culled the acorns and wild fruits of the groves as their reward. Men did not thirst after gold and jewels in those days.

Men who illegally seek another's lands deserve to incur the fatal fallout of war. The Goths collapsed, the Vandals perished, the Huns experienced in defeat the mighty palisades of the Cross. The lying heretic and the corrupt flesh, and the crowd of believers rushing headlong in war, have wrought thrice three wars. Yet they strive against each other to different ends, since the righteous man fights to achieve peace, but the unrighteous man has death as his reward. Powerful men appointed to sustain the peace of the Church offend a just God by [this] shower of blood. [Their] battles do not cease throughout the four seasons of the year, so that the devouring thirst of Memphis acquires more. The unbelieving crowd does not understand how to

43 '*flere vaco*' See also *DTE,* Preface.7.

44 '*Probitas*' is difficult to translate. Its meaning lies on a spectrum between 'pedigree' and 'integrity.' See Paul (2012), 23 & n. 10.

45 Read '*utros*' for Wright's '*murus.*' Correction by scribe in right margin, replacing '*murus.*'

46 A reference to the mythical Golden Age, Ovid, *Met.*, 1.89-112.

47 Read '*septra*' with MS, for Wright's '*sceptra.*'

48 See line 110 above; there are repeated references to '*tris tria,*' the 'triple Trinity', a number with mystical significance. There were also nine choirs of angels and nine is the square of three. Here it denotes 'endless' rather than a specific number.

49 Read '*quidam*' with MS, for Wright's '*quidem*'.

50 Rubric in right margin, opposite lines 136-38 reads, '*De temperantia et ordine mundialis machine et de excessu in hominibus*'.

51 Read '*Memphis*' for '*mentis*' in MS and Wright on grounds of sense. The scribe has mistaken a proper noun for a word more familiar to him.

In Christum nescit incredula credere turba
Que delira Deo saxea corda gerit.
Hostis nature ferus est Machometus et omnis
Qui contra genii federa plura sitit.[52]
Omnia temperiem servant[53] sed cordis hyatus[54]
In voto finem non reperire potest.
Oppositus cancer capricorno lapsus et ortus [71v]
Reges ex alto cernit abire gradu.[55]
Inter se praestant sibi mutua munera menses,
Et celeste bonum participare volunt.
Frigus et humiditas sibi fervida siccaque placant;
Fedus in oppositis fervor et humor agunt.
Istam temperiem fecit mirabilis auctor
Qui tempus[56] statuit; tempore factus homo.
Dum solem vite fontem iubet ire planetis[57]
Sex medium,[58] fructus ducit inesse novos.[59]
Ut Ptolomee, doces, complexio signa cathenat,
Et pacis nexus hac brevitate[60] patet.
<12> Ignea sunt Ari., Sa., Leo; sed Scor. aquatica, Pis., Can.
Terrea Tau., Capri., Vir.; aëra dant A., Ge., Li.
Ad pacem distant Aries, Scor.; Pis., Leo; Can., Sa.
Urnaque[61] Vir., Taurus, Libra; Caprique Gemi.[62]
Est Aries veris, Taurus Geminique, gradusque
Servat terdenos ordine quisque trium.
Sol bis sex signis peragratis perficit annum,
It, redit assidue, continuatque gradus.
Estati dantur Cancer, Leo, Virgo; calorem

52 A further accusation against the Muslims, that contrary to the rules of nature, they are always hungry for the territory of others. See also Prologue, n. 25, and Introduction, 8, 86. '*Temperatio*'/, 'mingling, mixing' was perceived as the mean towards which the natural state tended. It had close etymological ties with '*temperantia*', the human virtue of moderation. Both concepts are used extensively by Cicero. There follows (lines 145-72) an astrological digression to prove the point.

53 '*… ubi temperiem sumpsere umorque calorque*', Ovid, *Met.*, 1.430.

54 A vivid physical metaphor, 'a yawning gap in the heart'/ 'a deep yearning in the spirit'.

55 John tells us in similar language that the Emperor Frederick II was excommunicated under the sign of Cancer, *DTE,* 7.483. This looks like an oblique reference to that event.

56 '*tempus*' with Wright, '*tempore*' in MS. It is impossible in English to convey the pun '*temperies*' / '*tempus*'.

57 An illustration of the signs of the zodiac is in the left margin of the MS (**Plate 2, p. 123**). Uniquely this folio has two marginal illustrations, see also n. 74.

58 Wright's punctuation is amended, with the sense.

59 Ptolemy held that there were seven 'planets'; the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, which were believed in medieval times to rotate around the Earth. His principal works on astronomy (Almagest) and astrology (Quadripartitum) were translated into Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. John's thought process here is that the sun by spreading its heat evenly amongst the other planets gives them light and warmth.

believe in Christ, and in its delusion turns a stony heart to God. Muhammad is an enemy savage by nature, like all who thirst for more against the rules of good society.

All things seek the mean, but this yearning in the heart cannot achieve its end by wishing. Cancer, opposed to Capricorn in its setting and rising, observes kings depart from their lofty estate. The months display their respective merits to each other, and want to share in the good things of Heaven. Let cold and damp and hot and dry accommodate each other; heat and damp strike a compact based on opposites. That [same] miracle-working Originator who ordained Time created that moderation; man was created within Time. While He orders the sun, the fount of life, to proceed to the centre of the six planets, it creates new sources of life in them. As you teach [us], Ptolemy, a close connection binds the Heavenly signs, and their harmonious bond is revealed by the following mnemonic:

Plate 2. MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, f. 71v, The signs of the Zodiac, *DTE*, 1.157-60.

'Aries, Sagittarius, Leo, are fiery signs, but Scorpio, Pisces and Cancer are aqueous; Taurus, Capricorn, and Virgo are of the earth, and the air gives Aquarius, Gemini and Libra. Aries and Scorpio, Pisces and Leo, Cancer and Sagittarius, Aquarius and Virgo, Taurus and Libra, Capricorn and Gemini stand in opposition, producing peace (between them).'

Aries comes with Spring, and so do Taurus and Gemini, and each of the three maintains a regular cycle of thirty days. The sun completes a year by making its way through the twelve signs. It sets off and comes back regularly, and follows through

60 '*Brevitas*'/ literally '*shortness*'; here meaning 'condensed version'. This is translated 'mnemonic'—a teaching tool John has borrowed from the classroom.

61 John uses both '*Urna*' and '*A*' to denote Aquarius, and provide variation.

62 John's use of mnemonics reflects the pedagogic approach to his grammatical works (e.g. *Clavis Compendii*).

Tempore disponunt plusve minusve suo.
Autumnus librat, post pungit, et inde sagittat,[63]
Sed tribus hiis frigus temperat ipse suum.
Excudunt hyemi Capricornus Aquarius arma
Et Pisces, donec tempora vere virent.[64]
Dulce bis equidium, bis solsticiale iuvamen
Signis oppositis tempora sole novant.
Contendunt homines marcescere tempore veris
Quando festinant per sua bella mori.
Diversis none sanctis, idusque kalende
Sollemnes lucent, gens tamen arma capit.[65]
Quanto maius erit festum, maius scelus instat,
Dum funestatur per scelus alma dies.
Flos in naturis Lucas Essexia florum[66]
Patria quem genuit certius[67] alta sapit.[68]
Stellarum leges lapsus assignat et ortus.
Noscere sed sapiens quis vaga corda potest?
Facta pace mali pacem confringere gaudent.
In bello bellum pacificare petunt.[69]
Sed reges nostri pacem tutantur,[70] et arma
Si capiunt, causam iuris habere putant.
Non tamen hoc satis est; caveant ergo sibi reges,
Ne sibi mens fuerit conscia[71] facta mali.
Post treugas regum redit orbiculare flagellum,
Pugnaque plus ledit viribus[72] aucta novis.
<13> Blanca tamen regis mater iustissima pacem
Poscit sanctarum sedulitate precum,
'Stella parens solis concepte filia prolis[73]

63 i.e under the signs of Libra, Scorpio and Sagittarius.
64 Wright's punctuation is changed here.
65 John reverts to his denunciation of the Egyptians broken off at line 142 above.
66 'John usually uses '*flos florum*', of Christ or the Virgin, *EBVM,* Introduction, p. 199, n. 203.
67 Read '*certius*' for Wright's '*tertius*'.
68 Lines 179-81, '*Lucas*': a personal, perhaps affectionate, reminiscence spurred by the astronomical digression. John attributes his education in astronomy to Luke. This passage could offer further support to the view that John was born in Essex, on a natural reading of '*patria.*' (see Introduction, 22-23). Wright, p. 145, note on p. 12, line 23, comments 'I cannot discover that this writer, who is mentioned again as a distinguished mathematician in p. 26 (2.217-18), is otherwise known than by the allusion to him by John de Garlande. He is an addition to the list of early worthies of the county of Essex.' See now Book 2, n. 61, suggesting that this second reference is not to Luke at all.
69 John makes a pun on the poetic meaning of '*pacificare*'; 'They seek to assuage war through war'.

the stages of its journey. To summer belong Cancer, Leo and Virgo; they dispense their heat to a greater or lesser degree during their own season. Autumn balances (Libra), stings (Scorpio) next, and then shoots arrows (Sagittarius), but by means of these three it moderates its cold. Capricorn, Aquarius and Pisces forge the weapons of winter, until its forehead grows green with Spring. Twice [a year] by means of the sun the seasons refresh the soothing equinox, and twice renew their assistance at the solstice when the signs are in opposition.

<12> Men strive for attrition [of their race] in springtime, when they rush to die in the wars they create. The Nones, Ides and Kalends shine out as the holy days of the various saints, yet that race still take up their weapons [on these days]. The more important the feast-day, the greater the crime that looms, until a blessed day is befouled by a sin. That flower of flowers among human beings, Luke, to whom my homeland of Essex gave birth, has a profound knowledge of the Heavens. He sets out the laws [which govern] the setting and rising of the stars. But who is wise enough to comprehend the fickleness of the human heart?

When peace has been made, men of evil spirit rejoice in breaching it again. They seek to tame war by war. But our kings respect the peace, and if they take up arms they believe they have a righteous cause. But this is not enough. Therefore let our kings beware, lest their minds be complicit in evil. After the truce, the recurrent scourge of the kings comes back, and the battle causes more harm, fuelled by fresh resources.

<13> Blanche, however, the king's most righteous mother, sought peace by her continual holy prayers: 'Star, mother of the sun, daughter of the offspring you conceived, may it please you, Virgin, to send us peace from Heaven'. The fierce Amalekites were mortified to submit to Joshua whenever Moses' hands were raised and the protection of his prayers was in place. Gideon charged the Midianites to the

70 John's reference to '*reges nostri*' suggests that the scene has shifted to France and England, and that this passage was written during a truce between the French king and Henry III, broken during the first regency of Blanche of Castile (1228 –*c.* 1234). Truces were declared in 1226, 1231 and 1235. Henry broke the 1226 truce with his abortive invasion of Poitou in 1230, in an effort to recapture what he had lost to Louis VIII in 1224. Because of the reference to Blanche, it is unlikely that the reference is to the 1235 truce, again broken by Henry's invasion in 1242. Weiler (2006), 24, puts the point well, 'Although truces were frequently declared, they were viewed as an opportunity to prepare for war, not as a step towards peace.'

71 Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.485, '*Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra / pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo*.'

72 Read '*viribus*' with Wright. '*Iuribus*' is another possible reading.

73 See *Stella*, line 10, '*Hec est stella, mater solis / Sol de sole, nata prolis / Lux regina glorie*.' '*Prolis concepta*' is the legitimate offspring of a marriage.

74 The leonine lines 193-94 are incorporated into an illustration in the left margin of the MS, depicting Blanche of Castile praying to the Virgin and child. (**Plate 3, p. 127**). John singles out Blanche for her piety.

Pacem de celis mittere, virgo, velis.'[74]
Trux Amalec Iosue doluit succumbere palmis [72r]
Erectis Moysi praesidiisque precum.[75]
Cum clangore tube Gedeon fractisque lagenis
Inruit in Madian, inpuleratque fuge.[76]
Est tuba sermo Dei, corpusque lagena paratum
Martirio. Victrix hec gerit arma fides.
Belli consultor, iuris dissuasor, amoris
Hostis in occulto seminat omne malum
Transfuga permutans dominos hos fallit et illos;
Est quia cum vento mobilis empta fides.[77]
Polluit Allecto mentes, linguasque venenat
Thesiphone; foedat torva Megera manus.[78]
Pax de militibus, de clero regula iuris,
Heu, de plebe fides clamitat[79] ante Deum.
Sed quasi sol oriens nocturnas effugat umbras,[80]
Sic nova tristitiam gaudia saepe fugant.
Est quasi nox heresis, fastus, Venus, ambitus, ira.
Iustus purgabit sol tamen ista mala.
Nature leges heresis predicta molestat,
Sed monstrum perimunt canonis arma sacri.
Hiis tactis adversa loquar miserosque tumultus,
Quos fert Ecclesia suppeditatque potens.[81]
Europe paucos[82] equites ferit Africa tota.
Barbaries Asie latius urget eos,[83]
Signum contempnit Aniceti[84] nobile pape,

75 Ex. 17, 8-15. See Gaposchkin (2017), 42-43 for the central role of this episode in crusading liturgies.
76 Iud. 7, 16-20.
77 '*Perdurat non empta fides,*' Claudian, *De Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti Panegyris,* 8.501.
78 In Greek and Roman mythology, Allecto, Tisiphone and Megaera were the three Erinyes, or Furies, who avenged wrongs. John identifies them individually with thought, word and deed. See also *Integumenta,* 199-200 and Marguin-Hamon (2010c), 17.
79 John lists the three tiers of society, knights, clergy and laity, and says that each is in breach of its guiding moral principle, respectively maintaining peace, upholding the principles of canon law, and holding to the Christian faith. '*Regula iuris*' was a guiding principle of canon law, or one of eleven specific principles introduced by Gregory IX in 1234.
80 Ovid, *Amores,* 1.8.13, '*hanc ego nocturnas versam volitare per umbras / suspicor…*'
81 This seems to refer to Frederick II's hostility to the pope.
82 Louis' army was in fact a powerful and well-equipped force, see Introduction, 9, 88 & n. 5.
83 '*Barbaries Asie*' refers to both Muslims and Mongols.

sound of trumpets and shattering jars, and had driven them into headlong retreat. The trumpet is the word of God, and the shattered jar a body ready for martyrdom. These are the weapons which the victorious faith bears. The counsellor of war, he who argues against legitimate claims, the enemy of love, sows the seed of every evil in secret; a turncoat changing masters, he then deceives first one side, then the other, for his faith has been sold and is light on the breeze. Allecto corrupts [men's] minds, Tesiphone poisons their tongues, and fierce Megaera soils their hands. Before God, peace shouts its complaint against the knights, the rule of (canon) law rails at the clergy and, alas, the faith accuses ordinary people. But just as the sun puts the shades of the night to flight, so new joys often dismiss sadness. Heresy, arrogance, lust, corruption and rage are like night; but the sun of justice will purge these evils. This heresy I have mentioned defiles the laws of nature, but the weapons of the canon law are destroying the monster.

Plate 3. MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, f. 71v, Blanche of Castile, the Virgin and Child, *DTE*, 1.193.

Having touched on these matters, I shall speak of the ill fortunes and the unhappy disturbances which the Church bears, and which a powerful man brings to bear. All Africa strikes a handful of knights from Europe, and the barbarian horde of Asia harries them on a broader front. It persecutes the mark of Pope Anicetus, the decree by which the clergy first had tonsured heads. But the Virgin Church surges with its

84 The MS reads '*anatheti*' and looks like a corruption, again (See e.g. line 138, n. 51 above) because the scribe was unfamiliar with the proper noun. Wright reads '*Anacleti*', stating (p. 145, note to p. 13.29). 'St. Anaclet is pretended to have been pope from the year 100 to 109, and to have first introduced the tonsure.' This should read '*Aniceti.*' It was Pope Anicetus (*c.* 153-166) who was claimed to have introduced the tonsure as '*signum purioris vitae,*' in a forged decree recorded by Pseudo-Isidorus, *PL*, 130, 117-8. The current reference seems to refer to contempt for the clergy from Mongols and Muslims despite—or perhaps because of-- their obviously tonsured heads. '*Signum*' plays on its two meanings, 'seal' and 'distinguishing sign'.

Quo prius in clero clerica tonsa fuit.
Virgo sed Ecclesia pugillo[85] surgit in hostes,
Eminus hos terret, cominus ense domat,
Gentes externas et bella domestica tandem
Vincet, et attinget litora cimba Petri.
<14> Allicit adversis hominem Deus, aëra purgat
Imbribus et mittit gaudia sole novo.
Temperiem gignunt contraria, mitigat aura
Estatem, brumam lenit amena dies.
Depuratur[86] aqua ventis et sole per altum
Aëra[87] dulcescit quae modo salsa fuit.
Cum nox est media nobis tellure sub alta
Exequat mediam lux radiosa diem.
In luctu quidam gaudent, in gaudia quidam
Lugent. Sunt quidam qui sine fine dolent.
Primi sunt gazis hylares, sanctique secundi,
Hinc desperantes qui sine fine gemunt.
Inconstans simul inpatiens delabitur omne
In vitium cordis, bella nephanda gerens.
Divitibus cum pauperibus nocuere flagella
Ista duo, miseros que sine fine premunt.
Ecclesiam divina tamen clementia servat,
Que franget nutu colla superba brevi.
Papa Petri claves et Pauli publicat ensem;
Hec duo cum stabili gaudia pace dabunt.
Ecclesie virtus tandem Babilonis habenas [72v]
Curtabit, laxant quas aliena mala.
In Babilone tumet fastus regnatque cupido
Sevit et impietas luxurieque lues.
Grex[88] brevis obsessus balat, rabiesque lupina
Introitum querit, exstimulante fame.
'Atat!' femineus clamat timor. 'Armiger ohe![89]
Victor, io, saliens, hei mihi!' Morte ruens,
Captivos Babilon includit, verberat, urget,
Detruncat, laniat impietate pios.[90]
Vexatam gemit Ecclesiam prior iste libellus[91]
O quantas pugnas indicat ordo sequens!
Festinate duces Crucis et succurrite sancte
Terre que vestram capta requirit opem.[92]
<15> Mestis compatiar, letis conformis habebor
Sperans letitie non procul esse diem.

85 The second syllable of *Ecclesia* is scanned as short.
86 John uses the medieval form '*depuratur,*' rather than the Classical '*depurgatur.*'
87 Accusative form, used by Cicero and others.

fist against its enemies. Frightening them at a distance and subduing them near at hand with its sword, it will finally conquer foreign races and prevail in wars at home, and Peter's barque will reach the shore.

<14> God attracts Man to misfortunes, purifies the air with showers, and sends joys with the renewed sun. Opposites give birth to moderation; the breeze tempers summer, and a fine day melts the frost. The water is cleansed by the breezes, and though it was recently salt, becomes sweet by action of the sun high in the air. When the night is at its half-way point, the radiant light balances it with mid-day, deep under our earth. Some people take joy in grief, others grieve at joy; some people never cease grieving. The first type are made happy by riches, the second are saints, who permanently lament as they despair at all this. Fickle and impatient, man slides into every sin of the heart by waging illegal wars. These two scourges (fickleness and impatience) have harmed rich as well as poor, and keep them perpetually unhappy. Yet divine mercy keeps the Church safe, and will break proud necks at the brief nod of a head. The pope shows to the people the keys of Peter and the sword of Paul. These two will give joy with lasting peace. The courage of the Church will finally tighten the curbs on Babylon, which others' misdeeds are making slack. In Babylon pride swells, and lust reigns. Impiety and the putrefaction of excess are rampant. The small (Christian) flock is bleating, under siege, and ravening wolves are searching for a way in, driven by hunger. 'Help!' women cry out in fear, 'Conquering warrior, rape! Oh, woe!' Bringing death in its onslaught, Babylon locks up prisoners, beats them, harries them, beheads them, and with no respect tears the devout apart. This first book bewails the trials of the Church. Oh what great battles the books that follow reveal! Hurry, leaders of the Cross, and come to the help of the Holy Land, which is in captivity and is begging for your help.

<15> I will suffer with the down-hearted, and will be like-minded with the joyful, in the hope that the day of joy is not far away. The Lord's Temple laments, the Sepulchre beats its breast, Nazareth and Bethlehem are weeping, Jehosophat

88 Read '*Grex*' with MS, for Wright's '*Rex.*' Vergil, *Georg.,* 1.272, '*balantumque gregem.*'

89 '*Atat*!', '*ohe*!', '*io*!' and '*hei mihi*!' are all interjections found in classical Latin comedy. N.b. also Vergil, Aen. 2.274, '*Ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo..*.' See *CG,* 2.1634, in a section on interjections. "*Expressiva metus vox est,* '*atat*' *probat illud.*" / "The sound expresses fear, and '*atat*' shows that."

90 This seems to refer to the siege of Damietta and to the hostages from Louis' army still held by the Egyptians, and is therefore one of the later references in *De triumphis,* from 1251-2.

91 An indication that this first book is intended to set the scene of an embattled Church, to be followed by detailed accounts in subsequent books of the fighting involved. John shows a sense of continuity of crusading.

92 A passionate call to the West's leaders to come to help the Holy Land.

Conqueritur Templum Domini, plangitque Sepulcrum.
Nazareth et Bethleem flent, Josaphatque gemit.[93]
Quisque sed ut proprio letetur, non alieno
Gaudeat, est pape cura Crucisque labor.
Damnant linguosi papam, punguntque bilingues.
Elingues lacerant, qui ratione carent.[94]
Fons et origo mali sitis est quae cuncta vorare,
Cuncta tenere sibi, cuncta negare studet.
Discordant varie gentes habituque locoque;
Mos[95] est sepe suus Martis[96] origo novi.
Delicias caperent breviore labore supernas,
Ima quibus donat summus averna labor.
Morbus, mors, vitium, putredo, labor, dolor, error
Hanc miseram vitam sunt comitata brevem.
Gens Euri, Zephiri, Boree discordat et Austri.
Ha! Quid erit? Quid agam? Quo dabo terga fuge?[97]
Hec mundi prior est elegia, quod bona pauca
Paucis sufficiunt dosque modesta Dei.
Ad speciale vocor, sed non generale relinquo,
Dum commune bonum pandit honesta via.[98]
Iura iubent animam celestia poscere, terras
Appropriant homini lex ratioque fori.
Hac ratione comes cui Marchia cedere debet
Arma novat, firmat oppida, frenat equos.[99]
Vires quas debent Christo consumere certant
Inter se proceres seque suosque gravant.
Vir validus virtute virens[100] prelustris et armis
Marchio defendit castra vigore suo.[101]
Linguas mordaces mutilat mea Musa, sigillans[102]
In formam iustam facta venusta viri.
Quid virtus comitis valeat, fera Francia sentit
Quam[103] feritate pari fervida pugna ferit.
<16> Urbs Acron belli causas produxerat olim[104]

93 *EBVM,* 4.1-70 has a fuller description of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. The Valley of Jehosophat was widely seen as the site of the Last Judgment, e. g. St. Bernard, *De Laude,* 227-28, Schein (2005), 152-53.

94 Rubric in left margin, '*Planctus elegiacus de eo quod propria bona paucis sufficiunt et ideo vendicant aliena.*'

95 '*Mos*' means the totality of a culture—principles, customs, laws, traditions.

96 Read '*Martis*' with MS, for Wright's '*mortis.*'

97 John invokes the dramatic closing chapter of the *Aeneid.* Turnus speaks to his disguised sister before going heroically out to his death at the hands of Aeneas, '*Nam quid ago?..*' / ' For what am I to do? …'(12.637), '*Terga dabo, et Turnum fugientem haec terra videbit?*' (12.645). John and his readers will also recall the immediately following passage, in which Saces tells Turnus that the Latins' hopes reside in him.

groans. But the pope's responsibility and the task of the Cross is to ensure that every man takes joy from his own property, and not someone else's. Gossips criticise the pope, double-tongued [traitors] pierce him, those without eloquence tear him to pieces, lacking reason. The fount and origin of the evil is covetousness, which seeks to consume everything, hold everything to itself, and deny the truth of everything. The various races are diverse in culture and location; often their traditions lead to fresh war. Those for whom huge effort delivers the lowest depths of Hell could secure the delights of Heaven through briefer exertions. Disease, death, sin, decay, travail, grief, error, these are the companions of this wretched, fleeting life. The peoples of the East, West, North and South are at loggerheads—ah, what is it to be, what am I to do, whither am I to turn my back in flight? This is my first lament for the world, that few people are content with a few possessions and God's modest legacy.

I feel myself called towards specifics [events], but I am not neglecting principles, so long as the road of honour offers the good of all. (Divine) justice requires the soul to demand Heavenly things, but (man-made) law and the logic of the market place apportion lands to men. By this logic, a count, to whom La Marche owes homage, is re-arming his army, fortifying his towns, bridling his horses. The leaders are striving among themselves to use up the resources they owed to Christ, and placing a burden on themselves and their people. A strong man, in the bloom of his courage, pre-eminent in arms, the count defends the fortresses of La Marche by his own strength. My Muse cuts out lying tongues, placing the seal of legality on this man's fine deeds. Fierce France understands how mighty is the courage of the count, when the heat of battle strikes it with equal ferocity.

<16> The city of Acre had generated the causes in the past, when the crusader leaders quarelled. This long-standing dispute between kings was transmitted to the count,

98 Justinian, *Inst.*,1.1.3, '*Iuris praecepta sunt haec: honeste vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere.*' John is distinguishing here between the dictates of natural law ('*ius*') and the legal system ('*lex*').

99 For a detailed note on Hugh X de Lusignan, count of La Marche, see n. 105 below.

100 A notable example of alliteration.

101 *CM,* 4.179, '*castra sua armis et armatis necnon et alimentorum copia communivit.*' John appears to use '*marchio*' as a title synonymous with '*comes.*' See also *DTE,* 2.43.

102 '*Sigillare*', 'to seal', is not a classical form. Here it probably refers to the legitimisation of his marriage to his father's former betrothed, and possibly to other amorous activities.

103 Read '*Quam*' for Wright's '*Quod.*'

104 Acre. See *DTE*, Prologue, n. 31 & 2.651-4. The latter reference explicitly traces back the causes of Anglo-French friction to resentments bred at Acre.

Dum cruce signati discrepuere duces.
Ad comitem venit regum dissentio longa, [73r]
Nobilis uxoris causa movebat eum.
Bella viro nupsit Isabella parens tua, rector
Anglorum, patris morte soluta tui.[105]
Ista propago potens que terras vendicat armis[106]
Innumeros faciet fata subire viros.
Inter se certant nostri concurrere reges,
Quos metuit solos gens inimica Deo.[107]
Sed tamen excessu nostro[108] quandoque per arma
Succumbunt celi qui dyadema petunt.
Heu quotiens reges pugnant, hinc Gallicus, inde
Anglicus, Ecclesiam pugna propinqua gravat.
Seva Philisteis immisit brachia Sampson;[109]
Contra Christicolas brachia nostra valent.
Ecclesiam semper foverunt hec duo regna.
Sed modo flens clamat, 'parcite, ledor enim.'
Rex Dachus pugnax et rex Norvegius audax[110]
Bellis alternis mutua regna petunt.
Ascribit cupide menti plebs bella moveri,
Pars licet affirmet omnia iure geri.
Turbatur pax Ecclesie[111] bellique procellam
Sentit pauperibus mota procella nocet.
Dum generale fleo sic damnum, dum speciale,
Pax ubi sit stabilis non reperire queo.[112]
Risum proscribit luctus, ludum dolor, ira

105 Line 295 more fully introduces Hugh 'le Brun' X de Lusignan, count of la Marche, and central character in an important sub-plot. John sees the tension between Philip II of France and Richard I of England at the siege of Acre (1189-91) as the major underlying cause of the failure of their countries to unite under the crusading banner. Hugh X is presented as a valiant if vacillating pawn as the dispute plays out. John identifies the reason for the initial rift as Richard's jilting Philip's sister, Alice. Isabella of Angoulême had been betrothed to Hugh's father, Hugh IX, but had married John, king of England in 1200, when she was still aged only twelve. John failed to pay compensation to Hugh. John died in 1216, and Isabella married Hugh X (himself betrothed to Joan, daughter of King John) in 1220. She was the mother, by John, of Henry III of England and Richard of Cornwall. Hugh X supported Louis VIII against Henry III in the conquest of Poitou in 1224. He rebelled after Louis' death but made peace with the regent, Blanche of Castile, in 1227. He did not back Henry III's invasion in 1230, but encouraged him to invade again in 1242. This followed Louis IX's investiture of his own brother Alphonse as count of Poitou, from whom Hugh retracted his homage. Hugh switched sides again, and Henry retreated ignominiously after the battle of Saintes. Hugh initially kept most of his lands, though on strict terms, but his castles were demilitarised and he was effectively eliminated as a threat to Louis. See Book 2, *passim,* and 3.322-679 for John's account of the campaign. Hallam and Everard (2013), 168-275 give a useful account of the confusing period from 1200 to the Seventh Crusade. For a close examination of Isabella's motivations, see N. Vincent (1997). In lines 296-97, addressed

since the grievance of his high-born wife stirred him to action. King of England, your beautiful mother, Isabella, married this man, set free by your father's death. Her powerful offspring who claim lands with arms will cause innumerable men to suffer their fate. Our kings strive to compete with each other, who are the only ones feared by the race that is God's enemy. Yet because of our sins, sooner or later they who seek the kingly crown of Heaven fall short because of their fighting. Alas, whenever the kings fight, first the French, then the English, this battle between neighbours weighs heavily on the Church. Samson directed his own raging arms at the Philistines, but it is against (other) Christians that our arms use their strength. These two kingdoms have always nurtured the Church, but now it cries in tears, 'Spare me, for I am being wounded'. The warrior king of the Danes and the bold king of Norway are fighting for their respective kingdoms, each through his own war. The people put the causes of war down to an acquisitive spirit, though some maintain that all wars are waged justly. The peace of the Church is disturbed, and it experiences the storm of war, and the storm which is stirred up harms the poor. As long as I lament at the general hurt, I rail at a specific instance, but I can find nowhere where peace is settled. Grief banishes laughter, and pain kills humour; anger destroys a sense of proportion, noise overcomes sleep, and inertia prevents action. Rumour of this destructive conflict

to Henry as a rhetorical apostrophe, readers would understand perfectly well that it was not the death of Henry's father, John, in 1216, but of Hugh X's father, Hugh IX, in 1219, which really set her free to marry Hugh *fils*. Isabella's strong feelings are attributed to her belief in the superior claims of her sons over those of Alphonse to the county of Poitou, see *CM,* 4.178-79. John's rhetoric around Hugh's behaviour mirrors Matthew Paris'. See Introduction, 4, 52-54.

106 A further echo of Vergil, *Aen.* 12. 827, '*sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago.*' John's reference is to Henry III.

107 i.e. the Muslims.

108 '*excessu nostro,*' 'original sin.'

109 Iud. 16, 29-30.

110 Wright correctly identifies the Danish king as Waldemar II (1202-1241). His Norwegian opposite number was Haakon IV (1217-1263). This particular passage was most likely written around 1224. At that time, Henry III and Louis VIII were fighting over Poitou, and both Scandinavian kings were in conflict with other claimants of their respective thrones. Professor Kurt Jensen urges me not to abandon the linguistically more obvious interpretation, that this refers to fighting between the kings of Norway and Denmark. This might have been Norwegian mischief-making after Waldemar's death, but there is no obvious contemporary incident, perhaps making this a general observation about their mutual hostility.

111 '*Pax Ecclesie*' was introduced in Southern France by the Church in the late tenth century as an attempt to protect society from local wars between lords. It spread geographically and was reinforced by the Council of Bourges (1225), but largely superseded by the *Treuga Dei*, the 'truce of God' which strictly limited the periods during which acts of warfare were tolerated. The phrase is not here to be taken literally, but to remind the reader of the Church's view of local wars. Elsewhere in this poem, John emphasises neglect of the injunction against fighting on Sundays and saints' days, e.g. hostilities at Taillebourg on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, *DTE,* 3.350-51.

112 Read '*sit*' with MS, omitted by Wright.

Mensuram, somnum clamor, agenda stupor.
Fama trucis belli Parthos extollit et armat,
Quos ad bella vocat libera facta via.[113]
Si gladiis istis incredula turba periret,
Gauderem; doleo quod pia turba perit.
Marchius Hugo comes regem comitando feretur[114]
Contra Menfiticos vi dominante duces.
<17> Multi sunt dubii quis iustius induit arma,
Rex quia ius trutinat, vendicat equa comes.
Non decet oppositum domino certare clientem
Sic quia concludi sentiet ipse sibi.[115]
Non decet armari dominos ad damna suorum
Qui dominis parent, iuraque sponte parant.[116]
Metitur vires proprias athleta disertus,
Et studet ut iuris regula ducat eum.
Sed ius sepe cadit, pietas emarcet, honestas
Languet, honor dormit, lex iacet, alget amor.
Quid valet imperium, quid mundi larga potestas[117]
Quam non Ecclesie pax diuturna ligat?
Unde ruunt, tabulata struunt sublimia multi,
Dum mens illorum nescit habere modum.[118]
Sunt quadringenti deciesque quater simul octo[119]
Sunt anni peperit ut pia Virgo Deum,
Fortes ad validos Angli venere Britannos
Qui gladiis regnum supposuere sibi.[120]
Anno milleno sexageno data sexto [73v]
Rex sacer Eduardus celica regna capit.[121]
Sceptra nepos eius Heraldus fortis habebat.[122]
Sed Normannorum dux superavit eum.
Iura sub alterius domini possessio transit
Nunc vi, nunc pretio, nunc prece, nuncque nece.[123]
Rex fuit Assirius excessu bestia factus.[124]
Et cecidit proprio saucius ense Saul.[125]
Hos pacem servare decet, salvareque iura,

113 i.e. by Louis' expedition against Hugh.

114 Louis IX forced a number of his previously rebellious nobles, including Hugh, to accompany him on crusade. John uses the future tense, suggesting that this section was written between 1244 and 1248, between the attack on Jerusalem and the launch of the Seventh Crusade. Hugh X was killed during Louis IX's landing at Damietta on 6 June 1249, just as his father, Hugh IX, had died there in the Fifth Crusade in 1219. '*Feretur*' is used poetically to mean 'will be carried forth to burial', cp. Ovid, *Tristia*, 1.3.89. See the letter from Gui, *CM*, vol. 6 (*Add*), 155, trans. Jackson (2007), 89. In line 326 Wright has '*Mensiticos*' while noting correctly that it 'should no doubt be '*Menfiticos*' (as in MS). '*Vi*

is rousing and arming the Parthians, and the fact that the way lies open summons them to war. If the unbelieving mass should die by those swords, I would be glad; I am downcast because it is the mass of the pious who are dying. Hugh the count de la Marche will be carried to burial, through accompanying his king under his lord's duress against the leaders of Memphis.

<17> Many are uncertain which of them took up arms with the more just cause, the king because he is the arbiter of rights, the count because he is claiming fair treatment. The vassal should not contest matters by opposing his lord simply because he will personally feel [the matter] is being resolved to his own advantage. Lords should not take up arms to inflict losses on their own vassals if they obey their lords and acquire rights independently. A clever contestant takes a measured view of his own powers, and seeks to ensure that the rule of law should direct him. But justice often stumbles, piety withers, decency lies idle, honour sleeps, the law lies prostrate, and love is in pain. What use is empire, what benefit great worldly power, which the eternal peace of the Church does not bind? This is why many raze lofty buildings and raise them [again] while their minds are unable to pursue moderation.

Four hundred and forty eight years after the holy Virgin gave birth to God, the strong Angles came against the brave Britons, and took their kingdom by the sword. In 1066, the holy King Edward took his place in the Heavenly kingdom. His brave nephew Harold held the sceptre, but the duke of Normandy conquered him. Now possession shifts to the jurisdiction of another lord, by force, payment, prayer, and slaughter. The king of Assyria became a wild beast because of his wicked behaviour, and Saul died of a wound from his own sword. Those who should keep the peace, and uphold the law, are those to whom the sceptres of kingship have been passed on

dominante' may carry the meaning that he did not go of his own free will, or may reflect his reckless valour reported by Gui, a reaction to his countrymen's lack of trust.

115 John places the balance of right with Alphonse, rather than with Hugh.

116 John plays on the words '*parent*'/ 'obey' and *'parant*' / 'acquire.' By '*sponte*', he means that the Lusignans' claims in Poitou were derived directly through Hugh's wife Isabella, and not by the grant of the French king.

117 Damaged rubric in right margin, '*De exces{su et ruin}a.*'

118 '*Nescit habere modum vanis mens dedita curis.*' John is referring to *Versus ad Hunaldum* 8, widely attributed to St. Columba (521-597).

119 Bede, *Hist. Ecc.,* 1.15 has this date as 449, Geoffrey of Monmouth gives no date.

120 Here John begins a digression to demonstrate the transitory nature of power and the necessarily shifting pattern of allegiance.

121 1066, the death of Edward the Confessor

122 With Wright, read '*sceptra*' for '*septra*' in MS. *Heraldum* = Harold.

123 An instance of John's disapproval of Philip II's seizure of Normandy. See also *DTE,* 2.315.

124 Dan. 4, 33. The Assyrian king is Nebuchadnezzar.

125 I Sam. 31, 4.

Sunt quibus a iusto tradita sceptra Deo.
Reges a bellis deterreo; qui capit ensem
Ense perit,[126] pacis assecla pace placet.
Est labor ergo bonus quando sine Marte laborant
Reges et populi fine decente mori.
Sed modo cum clero populus formidine belli
Pallet, ubique facit mortis imago metum.[127]
<18> Sedes morte patris spatio Romana bienni
Muta silet, nec adhuc proxima bella silent.[128]
Sed contra claves celi[129] celesteque[130] regnum,
Non infernales praevaluere fores.[131]
Corpora defendit turris[132] regalia sed non
Exutas animas illa tenere potest.[133]
Urbs dolet Ecclesie cuius civilia cives
Bella movent,[134] fratrem frater ad arma vocat.[135]
Ecclesie nati plusquam civilia tractant,
Qui sacros patres Ecclesiamque premunt.[136]
In bellis evum gaudent consumere quidam[137]
Qui dare propitio nil didicere Deo.
Amisisse diem Titus[138] qua nil dedit, inquit
Romanis. Annum perdimus.[139] Heu! quid erit?
Ter centum luces decies sex perdimus et sex
Si bisextilem dicimus ire diem.[140]
Annis in multis aderit miserabile damnum,
A bello paucos[141] quod revocare solet.
Est qui[142] firmate dissolvit federa pacis
Cognatosque duces ad nova bella trahit,[143]
Qui pretio[144] proprios studet expugnare parentes,
Qui nullum metuit eris amore nephas.

126 Matth. 26, 52: '*Omnes enim qui acceperint gladium gladio peribunt.*'
127 Vergil, *Aen.*, 2.368-69, '*crudelis ubique / Luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.*'
128 This refers to the interregnum from the death of Celestine IV on 10 November 1241 to the election of Innocent IV on 25 June, 1243. Supporters of the Emperor and of the papacy fought for control of Rome during this period.
129 The keys of St. Peter.
130 Surely a play on the name of Celestine IV, whose reign, following the death of Gregory IX on 22 August 1241, lasted only 17 days.
131 Matth.16,18, '*super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalebunt adversum eam.*'
132 Horace, Odes, 1.4.13-14, '*Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas / regumque turris.*'
133 Hugh of St. Victor, *Dogmatica, PL* 176, col. 0584.
134 i.e. Rome.
135 Matth. 10, 21-22, '*tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem.*'

by a just God. I urge kings to hold back from war. He who takes up the sword dies by the sword, but he who is an adherent of peace, pleases through [providing] peace. It is therefore a worthy endeavour when the efforts of kings and peoples result in people dying in dignified fashion, free from war. But now the people, alongside the clergy, grow pale with dread of war, and everywhere the vision of death creates fear.

<18> Because of the death of the pope the seat of the Church in Rome has been silent for two years, but the wars between neighbours are not yet silent. Yet the gates of hell have not prevailed against the keys of Heaven and the celestial kingdom. A tower protects the bodies of kings, but cannot contain their souls, stripped bare. The city of the Church mourns, whose citizens fight civil wars, and brother calls brother to arms. The sons of the Church are going beyond civil wars, and harassing the holy fathers and the Church. Some men, who have learned to give nothing to their benign God, derive pleasure from spending their lives in wars. Titus said to the Romans that a day on which he gave nothing was a day wasted. We have lost a year—what will come of it? We have lost 366 days if we say there should be an intercalary day. Over many years a pitiful loss will accrue, which tends to pull back the few from war. There is one who breaks the undertakings of a signed peace, and drags the leaders [of France and England], members of the same family, into new wars. He is intent on overcoming his own kinsmen for a price, and through love of money has no fear of sin. Brothers from the same womb provide corroboration of this. One of them is reckless and fickle, the other is stable and reliable. Mordred

136 '*Plusquam civilia,*' Lucan, 1.1, '*Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos,*' i.e wars in which related parties—the kings of France and England, and Frederick II and Innocent III (his childhood guardian) fought each other.

137 This would have been the logical point at which to begin Book 2.

138 Roman emperor, 39-81 CE. Suetonius, *Titus,* 8. 1 '*Amici, diem perdidi!*' See also *DTE*, Prologue.60 above.

139 This passage is obscure but John seems to be saying that whereas Titus saw a day without giving as a day lost, Christendom squandered whole years (and leap-years), during which potential crusaders were deterred from enlisting. This may be a specific reference to the year lost through Henry III's abortive invasion of Poitou (1242).

140 John shows a recurring close interest in the calculation of dates. He is credited with a book on the *Computus,* and shows a detailed knowledge of it. See *DTE*, 5.117-40, 6.17-24, Introduction, 1, 29 & n. 88.

141 '*Pauci*' means 'the few', in the context of war against the Muslims. John's point is that the longer these domestic distractions continue, the more likely are the kings to resile from war against the Muslims.

142 i.e. Hugh X de Lusignan. The truce referred to was between Henry III and Louis IX in 1235, and broken by Henry's invasion in May 1242.

143 See also *DTE*, 2.43-44.

144 Hugh was persuaded to change sides by the relatively lenient terms apparently on offer from Louis, *CM*, 4.215-16. '*Parentes*' means 'ancestors;' by finally submitting to the French crown he is abandoning support for Angevin claims to Poitou.

145 The contemporary pair, though not *fratres uterini*, who obviously fit this description were Isabella's son Henry III and Hugh X de Lusignan, son of her former betrothed, Hugh IX. John uses Mordred and Gawain simply to illustrate betrayal by close family members for material gain.

Ista probant fratres uterini.[145] Mobilis errat
Unus, dum stabilis desidet alter ei.
Monstrat Modredus Galvanum fraude necando
Quod fratrem regni frater amore necat.[146]
Condoluisse pater potuit Loth, mater et Anna,
Que soror Arthuri principis Anna fuit.
Arthuri sponsam Guennoram regnaque fallax
Dum potuit, tenuit et diadema sibi.
Proditione sua periit, sic ergo peribit
Qui pacis franget federa fraude sua.
Instuduere bonis quidam meruereque laudem
Exemploque fuit femina virque bono.
<19> Carmentis notulas Gedeonis tempore nostras [74r]
Invenit, mulier Greca futura canens.[147]
Filius illius Evander tecta paravit
Illic parva prius, est ubi Roma modo.[148]
Troia destructa tunc temporis equore vectus
Eneas Latium subdidit ense sibi.[149]
Expulit a Creta Saturnum filius armis
Hic ubi delituit est Latiale solum.[150]
Urbs Pallanteum sonat a Pallante parente
Evandri. Romam Romulus inde tulit,
Fratris cede nocens. Hic semper vixit in armis,
Quem tandem cives enecuere sui.[151]
Exemplum sceleris Iulianus apostota sepe
Ponitur, exuerat qui monachale decus.
Huic monacho mulier cista[152] commiserat aurum
Sed texit sparsus splendida frusta cinis.
Asportans aurum monachus sua claustra reliquit.[153]
Sed consul Rome munere factus erat.
Imperio functus tandem scelus omne peregit
Cuius in excidium tota gehenna coit.[154]

146 GM, 176-78.

147 Vergil, *Aen.* 8.336 establishes Carmentis as mother of Evander who was exiled with her from Greece to Latium. See also Ovid, *Fasti,* 1.467-52. She was a prophetess, credited with introducing the Latin alphabet in Isidore of Seville *Etym.*, 1.4.1, 5.39, who places this event, like Gideon's rule, during the Third Age of Man. See also *CG,* 1.321, '*Carmentis notulas invenit callida nostra.*'

148 Evander was believed to have founded Pallantium, on the Palatine Hill in Rome. It was named after his great-grandfather, Pallas (Vergil, *Aen.,* 8.54). Romulus' twin brother Remus wanted to locate the city on the Aventine Hill, and Romulus named it after himself after killing Remus in the ensuing dispute. John shared the Romans' love of etymological explanations.

149 Aeneas' conquest of Latium after the fall of Troy is the subject of the *Aeneid.*

150 In Roman mythology, Saturn, driven out of Crete by his son Jupiter, was an early arrival in Latium during the Golden Age., Vergil, *Aen.* 8.319-23.

offers evidence of this by killing Gawain by treachery; brother killed brother through desire for the throne. Loth their father and their mother Anna, the Anna who was King Arthur 's sister, could mourn [both their sons] at the same time. While he could, Mordred treacherously held on to Guinevere, Arthur's wife, his realms, and his crown. He died through his own treason, and so will die anyone who breaks treaties of peace by deception.

Some have devoted themselves to good works and have earned praise, and both men and women have served as good examples. <19> Carmentis, a Greek woman who predicted the future, invented our alphabet in the time of Gideon. Her son, Evander, first built a few houses on the present site of Rome. Borne by the sea after Troy had been destroyed, Aeneas brought Latium under his control by the sword. Saturn's son drove him out of Crete by armed force. Here where he hid was the soil of Latium. The city of Pallantium gets its name from Pallas, Evander's forefather. In the same way, Romulus took the name of Rome from his own name, committing a sin by killing his brother. Romulus lived permanently armed, but was eventually killed by his fellow citizens.

Julian the Apostate, who had cast off the dignity of monastic life, is often cited as an example of sin. While he was still [dressed as] a monk, a woman entrusted to him some gold in a box, but ash had been sprinkled to cover the glistening pieces of gold. The monk purloined the gold and quit his cloister. He became consul at Rome through largesse, and finally after achieving office he perpetrated every kind of crime. The whole of hell is united in his destruction.

151 See Ovid, *Fasti,* 4, 813-46, for Remus' death. Classical accounts of Romulus' death vary. Most sources say that Romulus ascended into the sky as a god, but John has chosen the alternative version of his death, probably based on Val. Max. 5.3.1. See Bremner & Horsfall (1987), 45-47. John refers to this again, *DTE,* 3.57-58.

152 Read '*cista*'/ 'box,' for '*cesta*' in MS and Wright's '*testa.*'

153 Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor 361-63 CE. See also *DTE,* 4.397-402, 7.451-66. Wright notes, p. 146, 'I have not been able to discover from whence this singular legend relating to the cause of Julian's apostasy is taken.' However, according to John Beleth, *Summa,* ch. 125, John's probable source, Julian, Constantine's half-brother, had taken refuge with the Church when his brother was murdered. A woman entrusted her gold to him. Julian stole the gold and hid it at home, then denied he had it. He was threatened with exposure by a demon, whom he pledged to worship.

154 Read, with MS, '*excidium*' for Wright's '*exitium.*'

Book 2

Incipit secundus liber De triumphis Ecclesie

<20> Belli quosque decet finem prenosse potentes,[1]
Dedecus, excessus, damna, pericula, metus.
Lamentis causas et dira pericula belli[2]
Iungo, que bellum sunt comitata ferum.
Vulnera fert iustus, sed plausu militat, et spem
Dirigit ad palme premia danda sibi.
Prostratum vulgus volucresque canesque revellunt,
Et miseras animas forsitan orchus habet.
Succurrit vigilans domini prudentia pape;
In rate dormimus dum regit ipse ratem.
Non hec attendunt quamplures, sed quasi ceci
Et quasi palpantes in sua vota ruunt.
Hiisne Syon gaudet? Non, sed dolet. Estne per illos
Libera? Nequaquam.[3] Serva sed esse gemit.[4]
Talibus exemplis licet ammonuisse renatos
Fonte sacro populos ut Crucis arma ferant;
Sed Sarracenos referam si vixero[5] victos
Victricisque Crucis magnificabo duces.
Si gemitus causasque suas ex ordine promo,
Sic ex proposito continuatur opus.
Ethica confinis bello latet. Exeat ergo
Nunc hoc, nunc illud cum ratione sua.[6]
Prelia iusta licet fuerint, discordia sevit
Ultra quam debet, egrediturque modum.
<21> Fletibus et trenis nostros deterreo reges
Ut mutent animos accipiantque Crucem.
Causa prior gemitus est fracte lesio pacis,
Causa sequens Babilon hereticumque nephas.[7]
Pro patria pugnare licet, sed parcere Parthis
Cernuntur reges dum sua bella gerunt. [74v]
O dolor! O luctus! Hiis planctibus addo labores
Pictavie, probitas cuius ad arma viget.

1 In the right hand margin are the caricature of a face and traces of other notes, perhaps by a reader, including a faint drawing of a hand.
2 '*pericula belli,*' Vergil, *Aen.*, 11.505.
3 The first of several examples of *subiectio*, or hypophora, defined by John '*quando querimus quid debeat dici, et illud subicimus,*' *PP*, 6.192-93.
4 The MS has '*serva*' twice, with the first underlined with a dotted line, the scribe's usual way of correcting the script. It is difficult to be sure of the target of John's barbs. It may be the Emperor

Book 2

The second book on the triumphs of the Church begins

<20> All men in power ought to understand in advance the outcome of war—disgrace, outrages, losses, dangers, fears. I link with my laments the causes and the dreadful risks of war, which go hand in hand with savage war. The righteous man endures wounds, but meets with congratulation as a knight, and directs his hope at the prizes of victory being granted to him. The ordinary people are laid low, and birds and dogs rip them open; and maybe Hell houses their wretched souls. The wakeful care of the lord pope comes to our aid; we are asleep in the boat so long as he is at the helm.

Many indeed do not wait for this to happen, but as if blind and feeling their way they rush to follow their own desires. Does Jerusalem take joy from these men? No, but it grieves. Is it set free by these men? In no way; but it groans at being their slave. It is by reference to such examples that when peoples have been reborn in the holy fount they should be urged to bear the weapons of the Cross. But if I am still alive, I shall tell of the defeat of the Saracens and glorify the generals of the victorious Cross. Even if I write about my laments, and their causes, before their due place, my work is proceeding in line with the plan I have set out. Morality lies hidden as the close neighbour of war, so let now this war, now that, turn out in line with its justification. Although there might have been just wars, conflict is more brutal than it should be, and goes beyond reasonable bounds.

<21> With sobs and laments I urge our kings to change their minds and accept the Cross. The underlying cause of grief is the wound caused by a broken peace, the next causes are Cairo and the outrage of heresy. It is permitted to fight for your own country, but the kings give the impression of letting the Parthians off whilst they wage their own wars. Oh grief! Oh woe! To these laments I add the toils of Poitou,

Frederick and his crusade of 1228-29, the Khwarazmians who sacked Jerusalem in 1244, the various 'unofficial' crusades, or, perhaps most likely, the unruly nobles of England and France.

5 '*Si vixero,*' an intimation of mortality. I Reg. 20,14, '*et si vixero facies mihi misericordiam Domini.*'

6 John means that some wars are right and some wrong.

7 Babylon was the Sultan's capital, Cairo.This section seems to have been written in 1241. The Egyptians had occupied Jerusalem (1240) following expiry of the truce agreed with Frederick II; they were fighting Richard of Cornwall (1240-41), and Raymond VII of Toulouse was unsuccessfully besieging the Cathars at Monségur.

Occurrit Francis comes audax,[8] arma retardat
Armis, opponit confraga densa viis
Que tenet in castris; confidit fortia, quorum
Unum Crussanna[9] nomine rupe sedet.
Agmina Crussanna multos cruciabit in annos,
Si defensor opem clausus habebit opum.
Vallis in amfractis tendit, sed turris in astra,
De Stige terribili quam nigra cingit aqua.
Patrum magna gerens Hugo Brunus nomina patres
Exprimit; in simili prole patrissat honor.[10]
Provocat ad bellum cognatos marchio reges,
Quorum stirps mundi climata Marte domat.
Francis opponit clipeos, sed dicere restat
Qua sibi pace liget rex Ludovicus eum.
Ante tamen dicam crucis instrumenta beate
Parisius posita reliquiasque sacras.
Ha! Brevis iste stilus, non regum sufficit altis
Laudibus; in laudes nititur ille tamen,
Nam regum titulos amborum gestaque clara
Experiar generis enucleare sui.
Nobilitas servire Deo preclara tenetur,
Sic quia nobilior nobilis omnis erit.
Quod Francos fortes faciat, patet ordine rerum,
Religio, belli gratia, firma fides.
Anglos argenti defendit copia,[11] gentis
Ingenium, cleri gloria, legis amor.[12]
<22> Sed si colligerent fidei pro robore vires,
Trenos abicerem carmina leta canens.
Militie pacisque pater Ludovicus utrique[13]
Est clipeus, fidei tyro, Crucisque pugil.
Militie sacre peragit preludia quedam
Quam contra Parthos rex peregrinus aget.
Parisius posita probat istud sacra corona,
Quam Christi cervix immaculata tulit.[14]
Crux probat hoc et reliquie quas ede sacrata
Sacras ille colit quas in honore tenet.
Spiritus inspirat sacer ut Salomonica regna
Remensis[15] rector salvet ab hoste suo.

8 Hugh X de Lusignan, comte de la Marche, See Book 1, n.105.

9 Wright identifies Crusanna with 'Crosantum' in *Grandes Chroniques de la France*, 4, 276, n. 2, probably the modern Crozant (Creuse). The château there matches John's description. William of Nangis, *Gesta,* 558, singles it out as one of Hugh's three strongest forts which Louis took when he surrendered.

10 These lines hint at a possible Lusignan sponsor, see Introduction, 2, n. 3 & *DTE* 1, n. 114.

whose nobility is thriving on warfare. The bold count confronts the French, holds back arms with arms, blocks the roads with a mass of felled trees which he stored in his fortresses. He trusted in their strength; one of them called Crusanna was located on a crag. Crusanna will cause torment to the columns of soldiers for many years, if its defender is strong enough despite being cut off from help. The valley meanders, but the keep, surrounded by black water, reaches to the stars from this terrible Stygian [torrent]. Hugh le Brun, bearing the mighty names of his forefathers, embodied his ancestors, and in his son of the same mould the son's honour matches the father's. A marcher count provokes kings of the same kin to war, whose family subdues [all] the different regions of the world by force of arms. He sets his shields to face the French, but it remains for me to relate by what kind of peace Louis would secure his allegiance.

First however I shall speak of the materials from the blessed Cross installed in Paris and the holy relics. Alas, this pen of mine is lightweight; it cannot live up to the lofty praises of kings, but even so it strives to praise them. For I shall know by experience how to pick out the respective claims to fame and distinguished deeds of both kings. Outstanding nobility is held on a course to serve God, because in that way every nobleman will be nobler still. What makes the French brave is made clear by the sequence of events– piety, chivalry in war, and unwavering faith. But it is an abundance of silver, their national character, the renown of their clergy, and respect for the law which protect the English.

<22> But if they were to combine their forces to strengthen the faith, I would give up my laments, and sing joyful songs. Louis is father of knighthood and of peace, a shield for both, recruit to the faith, and champion of the Cross. He is completing the preliminaries, so to speak, for the holy knightly service which the king will serve as a pilgrim against the Parthians. The holy crown installed in Paris, which Christ's stainless neck had borne, offers proof of that. The Cross also offers proof, and the relics which, holy as they are, he venerates in the temple which he has consecrated,

11 See *DTE*, Preface.47 & n. 20.

12 This is the closest John gets to mentioning Magna Carta.

13 Rubric in left margin: '*De reliquiis Regis ffrancie.*'

14 Louis IX bought the Crown of Thorns from Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople. It arrived in 1239. *CM*, 4.75-76 (1240) says it was, '*Parisius in capella regis reposita veneranter.*' John further refers to the Holy Cross, also bought from Baldwin, for twenty-five thousand *librae,* which reached Paris the same year. This had been in Muslim hands since the battle of Hattin in 1187. For the solemn installation ceremony, see *CM*, 4.91-92, & *MS,* 275-82. The other relics from the same source were fragments of Christ's cloak, the tip of the lance which pierced His side, the sponge and '*praeter haec innumerabiles reliquias.*' On the significance of the relics, Emily Guerry has an article awaiting publication in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.*

15 The kings of France were traditionally crowned and anointed in Rheims cathedral. See Le Goff (2009) 54-57, for the special circumstances of Louis IX's coronation on 29 November, 1226. Louis' installation was the occasion for an amnesty to all the prisoners still held since Bouvines (1214), see *DTE* 3. 311-14 & n. 99. See also *CM*, 3.118.

Reliquie tante pretiosa palatia poscunt,[16]
Publica divitibus pauperibusque Dei.
Ecclesie grate procerum succurrere nullus
Audet, dum metuit perdere quisque sua.
Rex non dimisit pro bello[17] quin sacra tanta
Afferri faceret, templa pararet eis.[18]
Instrumenta quibus elegia summa recessit
Plausus et accessit, indicat ordo rei.
Scribo Deo, matrique Dei, sanctisque beatis.
Pauperibus reges mors iubet esse pares. [75r]
Mitis in ecclesia, sed in armis acer uterque
Iustum pretendit nilque remissus agit.
Collidunt sese gemine per bella columne
Ecclesiamque movent hii duo Marte duces.
Vos et divitias vestras exponite reges
Pro Terra Sacra quam fera bella premunt.
Pax utinam constet! Fugiant discrimina, pugna
Discedat, veniat gratia, regnet amor.
Ecclesie pacem siquis perturbat, ad ima
Corruit et nescit[19] quis sit et unde venit.
In multis pro pace bona[20] deferre tenetur[21]
Cesaribus[22] magnis pontificalis apex.
<23> Que vulgant aliqui recito, non assero. Nemo
Dives vel pauper leditur ore meo.
Si servat civile forum Fredericus in isto,
Laus debetur ei iustitieque tenor.
Hic[23] si Ierusalem capte suffragia ferret,
Latius imperium palma referret ei.
Illi sed decrescit honor dum matris honorem
Ecclesie minuit, persequiturque patrem.

16 John refers to the construction of Sainte Chapelle to house all these relics, consecrated in 1248. *CM*, 4.92, '*Rex igitur Francorum, non procul a palatio suo, capellam mirifici decoris dicto thesauro regio convenientem iussit fabricari, in qua ipsum honore condigno postea collocavit.*' John's wording strongly suggests that Sainte Chapelle was at least sometimes open to all.

17 i.e. the continuing hostilities amongst the leaders of the Christians.

18 Lines 61-76 were clearly written around the time that Louis IX set off on crusade in 1248, and inserted into a passage about the relative qualities of the French and the English and their respective kings.

19 '*nescit*' with sense, for Wright's '*noscit*'. MS is unclear. The grammar here is unusual, with mixed subjunctive and indicative verbs after '*nescit*.'

20 '*pace bona,*' '*Bona*' here means 'durable', 'in good faith.'

and which he holds in respect. The Holy Spirit is the inspiration for the leader, anointed in Rheims, to rescue Solomon's realms from their enemy. Such important relics need expensive palaces, open to God's rich and poor alike. None of the magnates dared come to the help of a deserving Church, so long as he feared losing what he possessed. The king did not on account of the war renounce the idea of having such holy treasures brought to him, or of preparing temples for them. The sequence of events shows the means by which the deepest gloom has retreated, and cause for celebration has approached.

I write for God, the mother of God, and the blessed saints. Death ordains that kings are the equals of the poor. Each of the kings (of England and France) is gentle in church, but fierce in war, has the appearance of righteousness and does nothing carelessly. These twin pillars clash in war, and these two leaders shake the Church by their martial spirit. Make ready yourselves and your riches for the benefit of the Holy Land, kings, which is oppressed by your savage wars. If only peace would prevail! Differences would fly away, battle would disappear, courtesy would show itself, and love would reign. Whoever disturbs the peace of the Church plunges to the uttermost depths, and does not know who he is or where he came from.

The papal leader is obliged to make many concessions among many great Caesars in exchange for a well-founded peace. <23> I report what others talk about openly, but I do not testify to its truth. Nobody, rich or poor, is slandered by my lips. Insofar as Frederick observes the rules of peace in this matter, he deserves praise and just treatment. If he were to bring succour to captive Jerusalem, victory would bring him a broader empire. But his own reputation is waning, since he is undermining the status of mother Church and harassing the pope. Frederick promises in exchange for

21 Frederick II sent troops to the Fifth Crusade (1213-21), but did not himself participate. In 1225 he became king of Jerusalem through marriage to Isabella, daughter of John of Brienne. He was excommunicated in 1227 by Honorius III ostensibly for reneging on his crusading vows, but the next year he set sail for Acre regardless. None of the Western kings took part in the Barons' Crusade of 1239-42. It is difficult to be sure whether lines 91-104 were written in the late 1220s ahead of the Sixth Crusade (1228-29), or in 1239-1242. This does read as if it dates from the time of the Sixth Crusade, when Frederick literally added to his empire by adding the crown of Jerusalem. In 1229, under a ten year truce with the Ayubbid al-Kamil, he secured a demilitarized Jerusalem for the Christians without recourse to military force. Except for a short period from 1239-41 (but see Humphreys (1977) 266 & n. 49), they retained it until the Khwarazmians sacked it in 1244. Frederick also restored to the kingdom of Jerusalem traditional Christian sites such as Bethlehem and Nazareth. When he returned to Italy, Frederick defeated a papal army under John of Brienne, and Pope Gregory VII lifted his excommunication in reluctant acquiescence to the ensuing peace. For Frederick's crusade, see Abulafia (1988), 174-201, and for his return to Italy, Perry (2013), 141-49.

22 '*Caesaribus*' and '*pontificalis apex*' are circumlocutions for Frederick II and the pope.

23 Read '*hic*' with MS, for Wright's '*hoc.*' See also *MS*, lines 335-38, and 497-504 for similar language, used around 1241, expressing the hope that the pope and Frederick II can combine for an expedition to Jerusalem.

Promittit pro pace bona se reddere fines
Ierusalem patres[24] quos tenuere prius.
Rex homicida David fuerat, fallax et adulter,[25]
Sed pietas flenti summa pepercit ei.
Fortune causa titubat dum funebre bellum,
Se cum plebe duces non titubare vident.
O reges iusti, quare vexare minores
Temptatis?[26] Vobis sufficit amplus honor.
Rex, ad bella strepe minus, Anglice! Unaque[27] strepe,
Sis,[28] Franci regis qui bene regna regis
Si terras gladio tenet; et pro posse tenebit
Francia conquestum, magne Philippe, tuum.
Sunt duo sacrati reges; est Gallicus unus,
Anglicus est alter. Vivit uterque potens.
Tertius[29] Ecclesie sacre deberet adesse
Quo sacra Ierusalem per fera bella caret.
Legifer hanc Moyses petiit tribubusque subactam
Bissenis Iosue distribuisse datur.[30]
Crux aliquos poscit zephiri de parte potentes,
Quorum sint signis libera regna Bethel.

24 Not a reference to Frederick's own forefathers. John regards the kingdom of Jerusalem as having been held by its kings on behalf of successive popes.

25 Frederick wrote of himself as in direct succession to David as king of Jerusalem. See for example his letter to Henry III of 1229, *CM,* 3.175.

26 A reference to Frederick's constant harassment of the Italian cities, and perhaps also to Louis' provocation of Hugh X of Lusignan by granting the county of Poitou to his brother Alphonse.

27 Read '*unaque*', for Wright's '*vernaque.*' This tricky passage is probably corrupt, open to other interpretations. Here, it is taken as referring to Henry III's attempt to occupy Poitou in support of Hugh X de la Marche, which Philip II had seized from King John.

28 '*Sis*' = '*Si vis.*'

29 i.e. Frederick, following the Khwarazmian invasion of 1244.

30 Ios. 13-21. In line 116, Jerusalem is used as a proxy for the whole of the Holy Land.

a well-founded peace to restore the territory of Jerusalem to that which the popes held in the past. David had been a murderer, a deceiver and adulterer, but, in tears, his supreme piety saved him as he wept.

As deadly war sways from side to side because of the vagaries of fortune, the leaders do not see that they themselves are swaying alongside the ordinary people. Righteous kings, why do you try to harass those less mighty than yourselves? The great prestige you have is enough. King of England, tone down your stridency for wars. And join him in your stridency if you wish, you (Louis) who rule well the realms of the king of France, if he is occupying your lands by the sword. France will strive its utmost to keep your conquests, great Philip. There are two consecrated kings, one French, one English, and each lives in powerful state. The third king should have been available to the holy Church, whom holy Jerusalem is missing because of his savage wars. Moses the lawgiver sought out Jerusalem, which was subdued and given to Joshua to distribute to the twelve tribes. The Cross seeks out some powerful leaders from the west, under whose standards the realms of Bethel may be free.

Occupat hec arbor mundum quam Neustrica[31] vidit
In somno domina se peperisse suo.
Filius huius erat Guillelmus clarus in armis
Dux qui submisit Anglica regna sibi.
Supplicat huic stirpi Gallus, Romanus, Hibernus,
Anglicus et Saxon, Grecus ad arma potens.[32]
<24> Sanguine vicinus istis Ludovicus habebit
Hos secum facto federe, pace rata.
Regum cognatus princeps dominusque Tholose[33]
Audax Remundus Hectora[34] corde gerit.
Si rex Remensis[35] ultra mare duceret illum, [75v]
Hostes Ierusalem sterneret ense viri.
Cederet Egypti carcer, secteque perirent
Que tacite serpunt, Ecclesieque nocent.
Antiochena suus avus quia menia dudum
Scandit, et obstantes tradidit ense neci.
Si pax heredem perpes Tholosanum[36] haberet,
Waldensis[37] meritum secta resecta suum,
Pacem perpetuam cum papa Cesar haberet,
Si veram regum gratia ferret opem![38]
Pectoris egregii flecti solet ira,[39] leones
Mansuescunt,[40] rapide tigridis ira cadit.
Imperii causas linquo maioribus; arma
Italie gracilis non capit illa stilus.
Mantua Virgilium petit, et Bononia vatem,
Et Mediolanum pectora, Vare, tua.[41]

31 Herleva, mother of William the Conqueror. Rubric in left margin '*De stirpe regum.*' A picture in the right margin (**Plate 4, p. 149**) shows Herleva's dream of giving birth to a tree (literally 'this tree'. i.e. the one in the picture, indicating that the illustrations are contemporaneous with the text) which would encompass 'mundum' / 'the world.' Benoît de Sainte Maure, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie,* ed. C. Fahlin, 33550 has the tree covering England as well as France. In Wace, *Roman de Rou,* 164-67, pt. 3, 2823-66, it covers only Normandy. See Bates (2016), 29, & n. 55.

32 John is referring to Norman conquests of England (1066), Ireland (1169-1175), Southern Italy, Sicily and Greece (a gradual process over the eleventh and twelfth centuries).

33 Rubric in right margin, '*De comite Tolose magnanimo et de avo suo probo.*' Raymond VII of Toulouse was the nephew of Kings Richard I and John of England, and grandson of Henry II. He died in Marseilles in 1249, en route to the Seventh Crusade. Raymond's ancestor, Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles, 'was one of the great leaders of the First Crusade, and distinguished himself especially in the siege of Antioch' (Wright, note on p. 147). In that John is writing in the present tense, and this passage appears to be set in the 1240s, the reference is more probably to Raymond VII than, as Wright suggests, to Raymond V, who was Raymond of St. Gilles' grandson. '*Avus*' / 'grandfather' does not help Wright's case, since it also means 'forefather.'

34 The rare accusative form '*Hectora*' is used in Ovid's well-known *Tristia*, 4.3.75.

35 See line 70, n. 15 above. The use of the subjunctive suggests that John wrote this before Raymond's death.

36 '*Tholosanum.*' Wright reads '*chosb[er]et*' with MS. The line is clearly corrupt. The sense is that Raymond VII would have dealt with the Waldensians and Frederick II would not be in dispute with the pope if monarchs had respected peace.

Plate 4. MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, f. 75r, Herleva's dream, *DTE*, 2.121-22.

This tree to which the mistress of Neustria saw herself give birth in her sleep, controls the world. Her son was Duke William, famous in arms, who subdued the English realms. To this [Norman] stock, the French, Romans, Irish, English and Saxons, and the Greeks, formidable in battle, are obedient.

<24> Louis is closely linked with them by blood, and will have these peoples on his side, with a treaty of peace signed. The kings' kinsman, ruler and lord of Toulouse, is bold Raymond, a Hector in his heart. If the king who was anointed in Rheims led him to Outremer, he would lay low the enemies of Jerusalem with this man's sword. The Egyptian prison would yield, and the sects which silently slither and harm the Church would perish. For his ancestor once scaled the walls of Antioch, and with his sword despatched to death those who stood in his way. If only lasting peace embraced his Toulousain descendant, if only the Waldensian sect had been wiped out and got its deserts, if only Caesar (Frederick II) was at eternal peace with the pope, and if the generosity of kings brought genuine relief [to Jerusalem]! The anger of a mighty spirit is usually deflected, lions quickly become docile, and the anger of the

37 The Waldensian sect was named after Valdes, a Lyon merchant, who began to attract followers in the 1170s. It was critical of the wealth of the Church and still survives in isolated pockets. The sect was excommunicated in 1186 and again at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. For a fuller account, see Biller (2006).

38 Horace, *AP*, 404, '*et gratia regum/Pieriis temptata modis.*'

39 Ovid, *Ex Ponto,* 1.6.44, '*saepe per has flecti principis ira solet.*'

40 '*Leones / mansuescunt,*' Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram,* 7.10.15.

41 Read '*Vare*' with MS, in preference to Wright's '*vate*'. Mantua was traditionally Vergil's birthplace. For Alfenus Varus see Vergil, *Ec.* 6, 9-12. He was patron of the sixth Eclogue and had unsuccessfully tried to persuade Vergil to cover his achievements in war. Mantua, Bologna and Milan opposed the Emperor Frederick II during the 1240s.

Hos dominos plangam discordes esse ducesque,[42]
Quorum stirps toto fulget in orbe potens.[43]
Stirpem diffusam timet hanc occasus et ortus,
Quisquis et arma gerit inter utrumque polum.
Torrida si fieret habitabilis hanc penetraret
Per breve; si posset consona stare sibi,
Cerneret oppositas ita res que diceret illic
Gallica sub pedibus regna iacere suis.[44]
Sunt gemine zone media fervente nivales,
Et suus affines temperat ordo duas.
Limes ab obliquo solem deducit, ut estum
Dividat a bruma temperiemque ferat.[45]
Non recipit reges ibi fervor et unda repugnans,
Que dum decoquitur vim salis igne capi
<25> Sole vel Oceanus totus percussus acuto
Solis vim patitur, inficiturque sale.
Obvia signa pares ortus lapsusque videret
Exequare, viam si quis haberet ibi.[46]
Sed plaga nostra dies decrescere, crescere cerni
Solque signifero tramite girat iter.
Immaculata silet sine bellis et sine motu
Regum quam numquam sumet avara manus.
Dum se Christicole sternunt, pars perditur illa
Terrae parva sacre que modo nostra fuit.[47]
Iure triumphales hic celi perdit honores,
Qui plus quam celum certat habere solum.[48]
Gentem devicit sceleratam gens scelerata
Utraque nos odit ad scelus omne data.
Marte Coresminos abigunt feritate lupinos
Sevi Tartarei quos movet ira Dei.

42 Rubric in left margin, '*De potentia regum et situ torride zone et totius mundi.*' An oval diagram in the left margin (**Plate 5, p. 151**) shows the climatic zones with the sun's path through the zodiac.

43 '*fulget in orbe potens*' is used of Charlemagne in *Epos Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa,* 61.

44 John may be hinting at the situation in Poitou, and making the point that in reality the Capetians and Angevins are part of one and the same extended French family which controls the world. Wright's punctuation is changed for lines 151-54.

45 For '*temperies*' see *DTE,* 1.151.

46 John observes that in the tropical zone days and nights are equal.

47 John refers to the impact of the Mongol invasion on the Khwarazmians, who were driven west and sacked Jerusalem in 1244, with shocking Christian losses. He again blames the disunity of Christendom, singling out the distraction of the continuing fighting between the Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Greeks of Nicaea (line 180). Jerusalem was at the time of the Khwarasmian invasion controlled by the Western Christians, see n. 21 above.

48 This probably refers to Frederick II's excommunication in 1245.

tiger rapidly abates. [But] I leave the trials of empire to those [poets] greater than I. My meagre style is not grand enough to cover those clashes of arms in Italy. Mantua and Bologna seek a Vergil as their bard, and Milan seeks your [valiant] heart, Varus!

I shall bewail the fact that these lords and leaders are in conflict, whose mighty progeny is resplendent throughout the world. Both the setting and the rising of the sun, and whoever bears arms between the two poles, fear this wide-ranging progeny. If the torrid zone became habitable this family would enter it in an instant. If it could stay in harmony with itself, the family would see that the things there that stood in its way lie beneath its feet as realms of France. There are twin zones covered in snow whilst the central zone is fever-hot, and the influence of each moderates the two neighbouring zones. The dividing line leads the sun diagonally, so that it separates the heat from the frost and brings moderation. There [in the tropical zones] the heat and the hostile waves, which take on the bite of the salt as they are evaporated by the fire [of the sun], do not admit kings; <25> or the whole Ocean, smitten by the sun high in the sky, alone endures its power, and is tainted with salt. If anyone were to follow a road there, he would see balanced risings and settings which even out the number of constellations along the way. But our own area of the sky sees the days wax and wane, and the sun goes on its orbit along a starry track. It lies silent and without blemish, without wars and without upheaval, and the greedy hand of kings will never take possession of it.

Plate 5. London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, f. 75v, Geographical zones and the Zodiac, *DTE*, 2.165-66.

While the Christians are slaughtering each other, that small part of the Holy Land which was recently ours is being lost. It is just that he who strives harder to possess land than heaven loses the triumphant glories of heaven. A criminal people has conquered a[nother] criminal race; each of them loathes us and has surrendered itself to every form of crime. The savage Mongols, who are impelled by the wrath of God, drove

Damnis vincuntur nostris, dum nostra feruntur
In loca, Ierusalem menia, regna Salem.
Fons rivum, rivus fontem rigat imbre cruento,[49]
Dum gens alternat, Greca, Latina necem.
Qui fovet Ecclesiam, qui clerum diligit, et qui [76r]
Pacem perpetuat, pax sua salvat eum.
Talem prelustris se Constantinus habebat
Rome Silvestro qui diadema dabat.[50]
Heu mala quot faciunt, odium, suggestio, livor,
Fastus, fraus, heresis, rixa, cupido, scelus.
Affectat mundi pompam gens maxima per quam
Deperit, ut Phinees et pater eius Hely.
Archa Philisteis cessit,[51] cum Brutus in orbe
Occiduo Troiam iusserat esse novam,
Conditor alter eam Trinovantum dixit et alter
Londinias. Mundi gloria causa fuit.[52]
Cultores fidei timeo ne gloria mundi
Sternat quos belli pompa caduca levat.
<26> Pluribus exemplis igitur nocumenta patescunt
Est oppressa quibus terra beata Syon.
Si reges nostros concordia vera ligaret
Christo curvaret India tota genu,
Ense Machometus meteretur, te Dionisi[53]
Caldeus coleret, Angligenamque Thomam.[54]
Aëre sub gelido virtus inclusa solutos
Estu deiceret carnis amore vagos,
Uni nupta viro foret una. Sed est prior illic[55]
Et melior plures siquis habere potest.
Turpis et infelix elegia cederet ista.
Si pax occiduas necteret arcta plagas,
Gentiles caderent mactantes bruta planetis,
Dantes dona deis ditia danda Deo.[56]
Occasum solis Indi Scotique viderent[57]
Ortum, quos varios ultimus orbis habet.

49 Lucan, 6.224-25, '*stetit imbre cruento / Informis facies.*' John is referring to the inroads the Greeks under John III were making into the Latin Empire of Constantinople in the Balkans and Northern Greece.

50 A reference to the so-called 'donation of Constantine', a document, shown in the later Middle Ages to have been a forgery, purportedly placing Rome under the sovereignty of Pope Sylvester (314-35). For more detail, see Fried (2007), esp. 111-14.

51 I Reg. 4, 10-18. John is fond of the story of Eli. See also *DTE*, 1.95-96. Rubric in right margin, '*De Bruto qui fundavit Londinias et vocavit eam Troiam Novam.*' N. b. GM, 1.506-7, '*Regnabat tunc in Judaea Heli sacerdos et archa testamenti capta erat a Philisteis.*'

out the Khwarasmians, fierce as wolves, by force of arms. And they are defeated at our cost, as they are propelled into our lands, the battlements of Jerusalem and the realms of Salem. The spring sprinkles the river-bank and the river-bank the spring in a shower of blood, while the Greek and Latin races deal out death.

Whoever cherishes the Church, loves the clergy and keeps peace alive, is saved by his own peace. The illustrious Constantine acted in this way, who gave the crown of Rome to Sylvester. Alas, how many evils are wrought by hate, accusation, envy, arrogance, deceit, heresy, quarrelling, lust and crime. Like Phinehas and his father, Eli, that vast tribe took on the vanities of the material world, through which it was ruined. The ark of God fell into the hands of the Philistines, whilst in the western world Brutus had given orders that there should be a New Troy. One of its founders called it Trinovantum, the other Londiniae. The reason was earthly glory. I fear lest worldly glory should lay low the devotees of our faith who are buoyed up by the crumbling glamour of war.

<26> The sources of harm under which the blessed land of Syon is crushed are clear to see through many examples. If true harmony bound our kings, the whole of India would bend its knee to Christ, Muhammad would be slaughtered by the sword, the Chaldees would be worshipping you, Denis, and Thomas the Englishman. Their virtue, trapped under the climate of the freezing zone, would cast down those who are made weak by the heat and led astray by love of the flesh. There would be one wife for one man; but there, he who can have more than one is rated a more important and better man. It would be a cowardly and inauspicious elegy which conceded that! If a strict peace bound the western regions, the natives would be cast down in the act of sacrificing animals to the planets, and giving their riches as gifts to their gods which should be given to God. The Indians would see the setting of the sun and the Scots its rising, as the diverse peoples the furthest edges of the world contain.

52 GM, 1.493-501. Brutus named the new city Nova Troia (New Troy), which over time was corrupted to 'Trinovantum.' King Lud changed the name to Kaerlud, to perpetuate his own name.

53 St. Denis (d. *c.* 250 CE) was traditionally the martyred first bishop of Paris.

54 Thomas Becket (*c.* 1117-70). '*Angligena*' = 'Englishman.'

55 i.e. in the Muslim world. John is referring to polygamy amongst Muslims.

56 An extravagant example of alliteration.

57 An illegible draft rubric refers to the comparison between Scots and Indians.

Que regina fuit Hibernica nomine Scota[58]
Saxosis statuit Scotica regna locis
Sed prius Albanos Picti vicere. Subegit
Scotica gens Pictos excidioque dedit.[59]
Indus ad Andream peregre, Scotusque veniret
Ad Thomam, cuius India templa colit.[60]
Nature metas Lucas medicator Indis,
Et celeste logos enucleret Abel.[61]
Vinces credendo, faciendo, precando, fidelis,[62]
Si tamen assiduus in tribus esse velis.[63]
Sed reges nostros turbat discordia, sevit
Sarracena manus, Ecclesiamque premit.
Reges inviti pugnant , sed bella prophano
Consilio quidam lucra sequendo movent.[64]
Lucri proponam causas, scelerumque priores[65]
Auctores, cupide mentis ad alta sitim.
Lamec, lentator arcus celerisque sagitte,
Erexit misere perditionis onus.
<27> Filius illius ferrum variumque metallum[66]
Excudit primus et necis arma faber
Argentum coxit de terra, coxit et aurum, [77r]
Et scelerum causas sculptor in orbe dedit.[67]
Primo cornipedes Ixion rex Laphitarum
Edomuit frenis fortibus ora ligans.[68]
Primus Erictonius[69] currus erexit ut illis
Se podagrum faceret per sua regna vehi.
Tellurem Leleges[70] aratro secuere ratemque
Pro preda Iason currere fecit aqua.[71]
Denarios primos argenti fecit Ionas
Rector Thessalie, quos numerare dedit.[72]

58 Scota was traditionally the daughter of an Egyptian pharaoh who came to Scotland via Ireland. 'Albania' was an earlier name for Scotland. For detailed examination of this story, see Cowan (1984), 120-21, Broun (1999), 5, n. 29.

59 Cowan (1984), 124-25.

60 St. Thomas the Apostle, who was believed to have visited South India in 52 CE. Andrew and Thomas are presented as patron saints of Scotland and of India. Thomas' tomb is traditionally in India, JdeM, 29, quoting Isidorus. John means that if only Christendom was united, India would be proselytized.

61 Given the MS reading '*mathematicus,*' which does not scan, Wright assumed this was Luke of Essex (*DTE* 1.179-81 & n. 68), and that Abel was another of John's instructors, otherwise unidentified, see Wright, 148, nn. 1 and 2. But Marguin-Hamon has suggested that in this context Luke is the evangelist, patron of medicine, representing the New Testament, and Abel the son of Adam and Eve, from the Old Testament. The scribe probably interpreted as Wright. The text is tentatively amended to '*medicator.*'

62 A reflection of Augustine, *De Perfectione Iustitie Hominis,* 15.34, *PL*, 44, 310. A large hand is sketched in the left margin, pointing to this line.

It was an Irish queen called Scota who established the Scottish realms in rocky places, but the Picts first defeated the Scots. The Scottish nation subdued the Picts and consigned them to their destruction. Indians would come from abroad to Saint Andrew, and the Scots would come to Thomas, whose temples India venerates. Luke the healer would expound the bounds of nature, and Abel would make clear the holy word to the Indians.

Man of faith, you will prevail by your beliefs, your deeds and your prayers provided you are willing to persist in [all] three.

But discord racks our kings, the Saracen horde rampages, and crushes the Church. The kings fight each other unwillingly, but certain people cause wars through impious intent in pursuit of wealth. I shall set out the underlying motivations of wealth, the first perpetrators of crimes, and the vaunting ambition of a covetous mindset.

Lamec, who bent the bow with its swift arrow, created a burden of wretched destruction.

<27> His son was the first smith, who forged iron and other metals and the weapons of death. He refined silver and gold from the ground, and in shaping them he provided the means for crimes in the world. The first to tame horses was Ixion king of the Lapiths, by constraining their mouths with strong reins. Erictonius was the first to construct chariots so that he could have himself conveyed around his realms, suffering as he did from gout. The Leleges furrowed the earth with the plough, and Jason constructed a ship to run through the water in search of booty. Yonas the ruler of Thessaly minted the first silver *denarii*, and gave them as a way of counting.

63 See n. 81 below. Lines 219-20 look like part of an *excitatio,* and closely resemble John's earlier rhyming rhetorical model in *PP,* 4.207-84.

64 John returns briefly to his theme of the 1242 war. He then begins a long digression on the roots of greed.

65 Rubric in right margin, '*De studiis primorum artificium et de lucri causa.*'

66 Note in small black letters in left margin of MS, '*tubalcaym.*' See next footnote.

67 *Lamech was restricted to wooden weapons (though he did kill a man); but his son Tubal-Cain 'fuit malleator et faber in cuncta opera aeris et ferri,'* Gen. 4, 22.

68 Ixion was father to the first Centaur, and was condemned by Zeus to permanent torment on a fiery wheel, Lucan, 6.386. He is not usually credited with being the first to tame horses. This extended list of man's evolution was clearly inspired by Lucan's account of the history of Thessaly.

69 Erictonius / Erechthonius was an Athenian cult-figure, born of Hephaestos and brought up by Athene. '*Primus Erichthonius currus et quattuor ausus / iungere equos rapidusque rotis insistere victor*', Vergil, *Geo.*, 3.113-14.

70 Lucan, 6.383.

71 'The medieval writers, familiar to a certain degree with the story of the Argonautic expedition, believed that Jason was the inventor of navigation,' Wright, p. 148.

72 Ionas, Lucan, 6. 402-07.

Femineos cultus auxit Cleopatra decora
Et gemmas Rubri[73] protulit illa maris.
Postibus illius Lucano teste micabant
Iaspides, in tecto cinnamus arbor erat.
Utenti recte bona sunt hec omnia. Sed sunt
Nonnulli quorum damnat abusus opes.
Hec faciunt homines furiosos et sitis horum
Ducit ad interitum Tartareumque chaos.[74]
Ve natis Eve, quibus hec post tempora penam
Corporis ac anime dira cupido dabit.
Primitus Ixion[75] equites statuebat, ab illis
Expulsus regno perfidus exul inops
Pectoris arcani[76] proscripta pace; negatur
Pax eterna quibus pugna cruenta placet.
Anglicus occeani circumflua brachia classe
Sulcat et hunc recipit finibus Hugo suis.[77]
Quosdam premittens sequitur rex classe parata[78]
Contemplans certi tempora clara maris.
Hic locus est elegis, Elegia quos mihi vertit
Tempore de vario fluctivagoque mari.
Protraho materiam parvam perstringoque magnam,
Ut sic lectorum pascere corda queam.
<28> Monstra maris monstro monstravit que mihi nauta;
Alterius dictum postulat esse meum.
Sed dicens aliter illud praemunio quosdam
Ad mare qui salient est ubi rara salus.
Per mare nulla quies, ubi mortem separat asser
A vita, tellus effugit, unda subit.[79]
A portu pelagus placidum rex laudat; at inde
Se levis irato protulit[80] ore Thetis.

73 With Wright, amend '*rubi*' in MS to '*rubri*'. '*Plena maris rubri spoliis, colloque comisque / Divitias Cleopatra gerit cultuque laborat,*' Lucan, 10.139-40. In this passage on Cleopatra's banquet for Caesar, Lucan, 10.111-71, both jasper and cinnamon are mentioned, but not in the precise contexts John assigns to them.

74 '*Tartareum chaos*', Statius, *Thebaid*, 12.772.

75 Ixion, see n. 68.

76 Read '*arcani*', with Wright, for '*archani*' ('archangel') in MS. Just as Ixion was denied purification from the sin of murdering his father-in-law, those who delight in war will never find inner peace.

Lovely Cleopatra made women's clothes more alluring and revealed the jewels of the Red Sea. On Lucan's testimony, jasper glittered on her gates, and the cinnamon tree formed part of the roof. All these are good things for someone who is using them correctly. But there are many men whose abuse of wealth condemns it. These things make men mad, and yearning for them leads men on to destruction and the chaos of hell. Woe on the sons of Eve, on whose bodies and souls destructive desire will impose punishment in later times. Ixion was the first to establish knights; he was driven out from his kingdom by them, a destitute and traitor in exile, and peace was denied to his hidden heart. Eternal peace is denied to those who derive pleasure from the blood of battle.

The Englishman cut through the Channel with his fleet, and Hugh received him in his territory. The king sent a forward party, and, having prepared his fleet, followed himself, observing fine weather over a settled sea.

This is the place for elegiac verses, which Elegia converts for me from uncertain weather and a rough sea. I deal at length with minor matters, then I touch lightly on matters of moment, so that in that way I can satisfy the emotions of my readers.<28> I point out portents from the sea, which a sailor pointed out to me; what someone else said has to be in my words. But by saying this in different terms, I am forewarning people who rush to the sea, where security is hard to find. There is no peace at sea, where a plank separates death from life, the land slips away, and the waves creep in.

The king sings the praises of the calm ocean from the harbour; but then blithely launched himself, as Thetis glowered.

77 Another brief return to the story.
78 Rubric in left margin, '*De prognosticatione temporis et de periculis maris.*'
79 On the perils of the sea see also *DTE*, 8.221-40.
80 On grounds of sense, read '*protulit*' for '*protheat*' in MS and Wright. Thetis was a sea nymph in classical mythology, mother of Achilles. Here she personifies the sea itself.

Exhortatio de Cruce suscipienda[81]

Tempora nosse maris ratio non denegat ulla,
Illa licet stabilem non habuere fidem.
Quando Crucis populus poscet Salomonica templa,
Nosse volet placidi tempora certa maris.
Expugnat superos acies clipeata[82] *gigantum,*
In stragem quorum canone papa tonat.[83]
Ad nutum domini pape concurrite, remum
Sumite, remigium flectite, vela date.
Prefalcat sparos Hispania, planat et hastas
Anglia, quas comitans Dacha bipennis erit.
Romani nova pila parant, Germania cudit
Enses in Persas, Gallia gesa novat.
Ergo ducem poscunt tot bellica signa fidelem,
Si modo se reges pacificare velint.
Plura licet tardant Ludovicum bella, iuvare
Terram promissam fervet amore Crucis.
O quotiens captiva iacet Ierosolima sacra?
Hiis damnis aliqua sunt tamen orta bona.
Sic Cruce signatos Deus ad celestia ducit,
Quos hoc eventu, quos pietate trahit.
Rerum naturis cognoscere possumus undas,
Damno sed augurium, sortilegasque vices.
<29> Tempora commutans labentis temporis auctor[84]
Cum vult, tranquillat aëra, sedat aquas.
Tempora que statuit Dominus sibi nemo revolvat,
Que rata secretis terminat ipse suis.
Sed sator et medicus et navita tempora servant,
Aut inconsultis terminus error erit.
In nos non solum desevit ventus et ignis
Sed mare consurgit, terraque mota tremit.
Hoc facit excessus noster. Nec cerula solum
Invadunt plebem, regibus immo nocent.
Argenti cupidus, venturi cecus, aquarum
Sulcator, vite prodigus errat homo
Equora dum verrit et terras, equora classe,
Terras quadrigis, amne vel ense perit.[85]
Iustior est ventus multis.[86] Favet ille tonanti,
Collidens nubes ignis agendo globos;

Exhortation on taking up the Cross

No reason prevents us from knowing the weather at sea, though it could not be reliably trusted. When the people of the Cross seek out Solomon's temples, they will want to know the times when the sea can be relied on to be calm. An army of giants covered by its shields takes the survivors by storm, and with the [weapon of] canon law the pope thunders his support for their slaughter. Assemble at the nod of the lord pope's head, take up the oar, direct your rowing, give sail. Spain is sharpening its spears, England is shaping javelins, with Denmark side by side with two-edged axes. The Romans are getting ready new spears, Germany is forging swords against the Persians, and Gaul is making new javelins. This host of warriors demands a loyal leader, if only the kings would be willing to impose peace on themselves. Although many wars are holding Louis back, he burns through love of the Cross to come to the aid of the Promised Land. Oh how many times is holy Jerusalem to lie in captivity? Yet some good things have come from these setbacks. It is by this means that God leads the crusaders to Heaven, whom he attracts both because this is the outcome and by virtue of their piety.

We can understand the waves through the nature of things, but I deplore omens and the vagaries of soothsayers. <29> The Ordainer of fleeting time, who varies the weather, stills the breezes and calms the waters when he wants. No-one reverses for himself the weather which the Lord has decided, which once fixed He himself ends by his own secret ways. Yet the sower of crops, the doctor, the sailor take account of the weather, or a mistake will mark the end for the ill-advised. Not only do the wind and fiery heat rage against us, but the sea swells against us and the earth trembles in earthquakes. Our own wickedness causes this.

Gloomy skies do not only affect ordinary people; quite the opposite, it is kings whom they damage. Lusting after money and blind to the future, Man wanders, ploughing through the waters careless of his life. While he sweeps across the oceans and lands, the oceans with his fleet, the lands with his chariots, he dies through some torrent or

81 This is a subtitle inserted into the MS by the rubricator, with a red initial capital for which the scribe left a space, as at the beginning of a new book, but no draft rubric. This could conceivably have been the *incipit* for a new Book 3, though this would have left Book 2 very short. The rubricator correctly identifies John's core passage on recruiting for the crusade, and on balance the editor believes that he followed a draft rubric now lost in a cropped margin (see Introduction, 31-32). Only lines 275-90 could be called a recruiting appeal. The *Exhortatio* actually begins at line 275, and arguably should contain lines 219-20, as well as lines 489-96, 503-04, 3.363-64. John then begins long digressions before returning to his main historical theme. Further elements of an '*Exhortatio*' follow at intervals, and are **printed in italics**. *PP*, 4.207-44, contains a rhetorical model in the form of an *exhortatio.* See Lawler's note at *PP,* 244-45.

82 '*Acies clipeata,*' Quintus Curtius, *De Gestis Alexandri Magni,* 7.37.9. '*Superos*' = 'survivors,' i.e. the Christians who had been in the Holy Land before the Khwarazmian invasion.

83 A reference to Innocent IV's call for a crusade at Lyon in 1245, *CM,*4.456-62.

84 '*temporis auctor*', Propertius, 4.53. In Roman mythology this was Phoebus Apollo.

85 There is no shortage of kings who died by the sword; John may well be referring here to Frederick Barbarossa's death by drowning in the river Saleph in 1190.

86 Read '*ventus*' with MS, not '*ventis,*' with Wright. '*Iustior est animo ventus et unda tuo,*' Ovid, *Her.*, 7.44.

Concutit inclusus terras et congelat undas,[87]
Et pluvias unus destruit, alter agit,
Aëra nunc siccat Boreas, nunc imbuit Auster.
Iste nocet classi, quam tamen ille iuvat.
Sic in presenti rex sentit tempore ventos
Instabiles per quos[88] unda superba tumet.
Anglia transmittit regem quem Neustria[89] fortis
Patrum iure suum captat habere ducem.
Sepius humanos[90] horret Natura tumultus,
Sed properat pietas parcere summa suis.
A Plaustro Boreas ruit, obviat humidus Auster
Alternatque minas ventus uterque suas.
Dum timet ergo minas rex aëris et maris, illi
Temporis et pelagi nauta peritus ait,
'Dum nubes Boreas dispergit et äera purum
Reddit, parebit debilis Auster ei.
Sed Boree de parte trucis cum fulminat, imbre
Sternitur alta seges, per mare nauta perit.'
<30> Mersus mercator nummosum per mare mordet
Saccum, constringit unguibus, ore tenet.
Hesternum vidi maturtinumque serenum
Solem, nec maculis condidit ipse genas. [77v]
Concordes habuit radios, nec luce vocabat
Divisa ventos discolor ore duos.
Non fuit aurore croceo gena tincta colore
Nec subiecta suus tinxerat arva color.
Cornua non lune vidi confundere nigrum,
Sed fuit a Borea fusa rubore parum.
Ceruleus pluviam sol predicat, igneus Euros;
Ventum virgineo luna rubore notat,
Sed modo cum luna Boream sol monstrat ab alto.
Qui tamen imbre carens linthea tensa vehit;
Inter se corvi ludunt, pullosque revisunt
Aëre quos udo deseruisse solent.
Inferius nebule recubant, nec in alta trahuntur,
Ut sic in pluviam massa coacta fluat.
Stellarum fulsit acies in nocte relicta
Non Hyadum timeo Pleiadumque minas.
Tranquillum pelagus promittit puppibus arthos
Lucida cui prepes est Cinosura comes.
Preterea volucres maris in regione marina

by the sword. The wind shows more justice than many. It befriends the Thunderer, crashing the clouds together as it drives fire-balls along; pent-up, it smashes into the land and freezes the waves. One wind weakens the showers, the other drives them along; at one moment the North wind brings dry weather, at another the South wind brings a drenching. One does damage to a fleet, yet the other brings succour.

That is why at this present time, the king feels the winds are unreliable which are making the insolent waves swell. England is sending across [the Channel] its king whom doughty Neustria so longs to have as its leader through the rights of his forefathers. Often Nature shudders at mankind's outbreaks of violence, but piety of the highest order is quick to spare its own. The North wind blasts from the Great Bear, the South wind, laden with moisture, goes to meet it, and each of the winds bandies its particular threats.

So while the king was fearful of the threats from both the air and the sea, a sailor with experience of both weather and sea said to him, 'So long as the North wind is breaking up the clouds and bringing back the pure air, the South wind will be weak and do his bidding. But when thunder comes from the direction of the murderous North wind, the tall wheat is laid low by the downpour and sailors die on the sea. <30> The drowned merchant bites on his purse, full of coins, in the sea, tightens its cord with his nails, and holds it in his mouth. I saw yesterday evening's and this morning's sun untroubled, which did not hide its cheeks with any blemishes. It had evenly-spaced rays, and did not summon the two winds with its surface discoloured and its beam divided. The dawn's cheeks had no hint of yellow, nor had the colour of the sun tinged the fields which lay below. I did not see blackness cloud the horns of the moon, but it was a little tinged with red by the North wind. A dusky sun and a fiery South wind predict rain. The moon acknowledges the wind with a virginal blush, but only when the sun shows from on high the North wind as well as the moon. But when the North wind lacks rain, it sweeps along the stretched sails. The ravens play with each other, and rejoin their young in the sky which they have usually abandoned in damp weather. Below, the clouds lie low, and are not drawn high into the sky; in this way a body of cloud develops, which overflows into rain.

87 Wright's punctuation is changed to give a laboured contrast between the impact on Henry III's fleet of the North and South winds.

88 The MS has '*verba*' before '*unda,*' underscored with a dotted line to indicate deletion.

89 *Neustria*, see also *DTE,* 2.121, and note. '*Neustria,*' a subdivision of Charlemagne's empire, is a proxy for 'Normandy.' Philip II seized Normandy for the French crown from the Duke of Normandy, King John, in 1202-04. Although some support for the Angevins continued there, they never recaptured it from the Capetians. Henry III formally renounced any claim to the title in the Treaty of Paris, 1259.

90 '*humanos,*' with Wright, for '*humanus*' in MS. John seems to be saying that Nature reacts violently to human violence, but that their piety quickly rescues very pious men, in this case Henry III. The personification of Nature is another echo of Alan of Lille's *De Planctu Nature.*

Se retinent, alia non elementa petunt;
Alcyones, fulice, mergi non litora poscunt,[91]
Mansio quos propria turbida facta fugat.
Plena voce vocat pluviam pregarula cornix
Aëre mutato qui sibi mutat iter.'[92]
Sed non hoc signum precedit, non erit ergo
Signatum; tangent litora tuta rates.
Preterea delphin ludendo spargeret undas
Si ventura mari seva procella foret.
Non subitum fugere grues de vallibus imbrem,[93]
Non circumvolitat tristis hirundo lacus.'[94]
<31> Motus enim subitus est vite victricus,[95] hostis
Nature, virtus quo regitiva stupet[96]
Non precauta gerit formica sub horrea victum
Non queritur solito garrula rana[97] magis.
Venture pluvie proferre pronostica novit
Cultor. Causa tamen hunc sua certa latet.
Candele cineres si condensantur, et igne
Non pereunt, humor aëra densus habet.
Scintillare vident oleum cum luce sedentes
Cum sibi conflictus humor et ignis agant.
Tunc volitant palee vento, frondesque caduce,
Aut in aqua motum lucida bulla facit.
In preceps fertur ignis quasi stella, sequente
Tractu ventorum turbine nimbus erit.
Ardea tunc notas sibi deserit ante paludes
Et fugiens alta nube latenter abit.[98]
Non equidem credo quod sit prudentia rerum
Hiis brutis, sed in hoc mobilis humor agit.
Vertuntur species animarum,[99] quando serenus
Aër efficitur, vel cumulatur aquis. [78r]
De fluxu quoniam variatur opinio ponti,[100]
Causa sui fluctus est varianda mihi;
Ebdomada lune prima decrescere fertur[101]
Humor, quem siccat lampade luna nova.
Et tamen, ut dicunt, in se decrescere nescit
Oceanus, quamvis hoc videatur ita.
Humidus est aër primo, sed luce resumpta

91 Ovid, *Met.*, 8.625, '*nunc celebres mergis fulicisque palustribus undae.*' See also Vergil, *Georg.*, 1.361-64.

92 Ovid, *Met.*, 2.548-50.

93 Vergil, *Georg.*, 1.373-77, '*Numquam imprudentibus imber / obfuit: aut illum surgentem vallibus imis / Aëriae fugere grues… / … .aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo.*'

94 '*motus subitus repentinus inimicus est naturae,*' Peter of Spain, *Questiones super libro 'De animalibus' Aristotelis,* Book 10, Qu. 5.

The array of stars was left behind and gleamed in the night. I do not fear the threats from the Hyades and Pleiades. A calm sea confidently offers up narrow straits to the ships' prows, with the Lesser Bear shining brightly in the sky as its companion. And, besides, the seabirds keep to the area of the sea and do not look for other elements; kingfishers, coots and divers do not seek the seashore because they have been driven out of their own windswept roosts. That great babbler the crow gives a full-throated summons to the rain, when the atmosphere has changed, causing his route to change.

But this sign did not come first, so there will have been no forewarning. The ships will put into safe beaches. And besides, a dolphin would splash the waves as it basked if a fierce storm was about to break over the sea. The cranes did not fly away from their valleys to escape a sudden shower, nor does a sad swallow fly around the lakes. <31> Sudden upheaval is the stepfather of life, nature's enemy, by which the regulative force is numbed. The careful ant is not garnering food under the granary, and the voluble frog does not complain more than usual.

The farmer knows how to tell the signs of approaching rain; but its precise cause remains hidden from him. If the ashes of a candle congeal, and are not consumed by the flame, a heavy moisture hangs over the air. People sitting [nearby] see the oil sputter with light as the damp and the fire encounter each other. Then the straws and falling leaves waft in the wind, or a gleaming bubble makes a stir in the water. The flame is borne headlong like a star, and will be a thunderstorm, with the maelstrom of winds in its path.

Then the heron leaves behind the marshes it knew before, and goes far away through the clouds high in the sky. For my part, I do not believe that an understanding of matters is present in these wild creatures, but in these conditions it is fluctuating humidity which influences them. The impressions in their minds are changed, when the air is made calm, or piled up by the waters.

95 '*Vite vitricus*,' Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *De Poetria Nova,* 378. This appears in Geoffrey's lament for Normandy and for Richard I's death.

96 Read '*Motus*' with MS, rather than Wright's '*Notus*'. '*Regitivus*' does not occur in classical Latin. '*Virtus regitiva*' 'regulating force' / 'governing spirit' of a species was an important concept in Scholastic scientific thought, e.g. Bacon, *Libri naturalis philosophie de Communibus Naturalium Rerum,* I.2.7.

97 '*garrula rana,*' *Appendix Vergiliana, Dirae,* line 74 Frankel ed., *Journal of Roman Studies,* 56 (1966), 142-55.

98 Lines 371-409 above draw heavily on Vergil, *Georg.*, 1.360-382.

99 Read '*animarum*' for Wright's '*animorum.*'

100 Lines 381-414. Interest in the cause of the tides was strong at this time. The Muslim scholar Alpetragius' theories were translated into Latin around 1220. Robert Grosseteste's '*Questio de fluxu et refluxu maris*' expounding similar theories to John's, was probably published around 1227, see Dales (1995).

101 A gloved hand in the left margin points to this line.

Est calor assumptus, quem nova luna capit.
Humoris crescit substantia, deficit illa,
Quando vas laticis plusve minusve[102] capit.
A casu crescit, decrescit, vasis ut humor
Ebullit, residet, condicione foci.
Deficit in prima substantia, crescit in ima
Hebdomada mensis, sed variante modo.
<32> Deficit humoris prima substantia luna,
Cum bene flamigerum sentit adesse iubar.
Hebdomada quarta modicus fervor viget ipsa
In luna, quare contumet humor aque.
Hunc sol hebdomada facit ebullire secunda;
Hoc tamen a casu[103] mobilis humor habet.
Efficit hoc fervor solis, quem tertia parvum
Dum capit hebdomada, subsidet humor aque.
Tertia concordat prime, suprema secunde,
Et tamen in prima plurimus humor erit.
Hoc facit hebdomade premisse copia cuius
Humor adhuc durat dum nova luna redit.
Sic fluit Oceanus diverso tempore lune;
Plena lunari lampade plenus erit.
Bis quousque die lunari fluctus obedit
Imperio, naves a statione movens?
Est naute ratio quando libratur in alto
Cinthia iam pelago litora plena tument.
Visitat Antipodes Phebe, refluitque fluitque[104]
Pontus, et alternis litora vestit aquis.
Ut Natura iubet, vitant animalia mortem,
Et pro posse suo cuncta nociva sibi.
Siquis forte mari perit intestatus amaro
Infrunitus erit, immemor ante sui.
Non nisi confessus velit occursare procellis
Precautus, veluti sit moriturus ibi.
Non obit in lecto; medicus non consulit illi,
Non pulsum palpat, non labra versa notat.
Carpitur in scopulis corpus, pulsatur arenis[105]
Styx animam sorbet quam sine fine tenet.
Torquet Styx animam quam non in corpore iuvit
Gratia, contritum cor, comitante fide.
Ipse perit medicus si fluctus inebriat illum,
Equoris hydropisim non medicina fugat.

Whereas there are different opinions on the tides of the sea, to my mind the reason for its fluctuation needs to be adjusted. The [volume of water] is said to fall during the first week of the lunar month, which the new moon dries out through its brilliance. Yet, as they also say, Ocean cannot lose volume into itself, however much this may seem to be so. The atmosphere is first of all moisture-laden, but when the light is rekindled heat is also accumulated, which the new moon absorbs. The mass of liquid increases and diminishes as the Milky Way absorbs the moisture to a greater or lesser extent. It increases and diminishes according to circumstances, just as the liquid in cooking pots is agitated or still depending on the state of the fire beneath. The volume of liquid is low in the first week of the lunar month, and goes up in the last week of the month, though in a different way. <32> The mass falls in the first week when it really feels the presence of a fiery radiance. In the fourth week, a gentle heat is kindled in the moon itself, because the [level of] moisture from the water is growing. The sun brings this to the boil in the second week [of the lunar month]. But the fluctuating [level of] liquid depends on the circumstances. The agent of this is the heat of the sun; when the third week of the lunar month retains little of it, the mass of water subsides. The third week corresponds to the first, and the last to the second, but there will be most fluid in the first week. The plentiful supply of the previous week causes this to happen, with the liquid lasting until the new moon returns. That is how Ocean flows during the different phases of the moon. It will be full [of water] when the moon is full of radiance. To what extent does the tide obey the power of the moon twice each day, moving ships from their mooring-places? The explanation of sailors is that when Cynthia is balanced in the sky, beaches are filled with the sea's swell. The moon migrates to the Antipodes, the sea surges there and back again, and covers the shores in turn with its waters.

Animals seek to avoid death, and strive to the utmost to avoid everything which is harmful to them, following the dictates of nature. If by chance a man dies in the pitiless sea without having made a will, he will be foolish, unmindful beforehand of himself. A prudent man would not want to encounter storms without having said his confession, just as if he was about to die there. He does not die in bed, no doctor advises him, or takes his pulse, or takes note of his changed lips. His body is shredded on rocks and buffeted by the sands. The Styx sucks out his soul, and holds on to it forever. The Styx torments his soul, to which grace, and a repentant heart, with faith in support, could give no help [when it was] in his body. The doctor dies himself if the tide fills him with drink; medicine cannot drive away the dropsy of the sea.

102 '*Plusve minusve*', Ovid, *Fasti,* 6.274.
103 Read '*Hoc tamen a casu*' with MS, not Wright's '*Hac tamen a causa.*'
104 Ovid, *Met.,* 8.163.
105 Lucan, 8.708-09, '*Pulsatur harenis / Carpitur in scopulis hausto per vulnera fluctu.*'

<33>Nos tamen in dubio naute speramus, et undas
Spernimus. Audaces liberat ipse Deus. [78v]
Detumet unda, silet Auster, Boreas flat, opacum
Effugit, emergit sol, prope portus adest.'
Hiis dictis animos confirmat nautica turbe
Regula dum pelago concava vela volant.
Est cautela satis tolerabilis illa. Sed ore
Cordeque detestor auguriale nephas.[106]
Flebilis hinc oritur elegia dum maledictus
Credit quod ratio, quod negat alma fides.
Ingerit hiis vanum quiddam credentibus hostis
Antiquus,[107] qui eos decipit arte sua.
Credulitate sua moriuntur, et arripit horum
Infaustas animas mors sine morte[108] manens.
Quam[109] ratione caret, quia pendet ab alite felix
Omen, quae nescit retia facta sibi.
Non hec a visco sibi precavet, et tibi, stulte,
Quae sibi non poterit, omina grata dabit.
Obvia bruta dabunt tibi nec bona nec mala; tigrim
Excipe, que prede prodiga cuncta rapit.
Sortis et augurii fallax elegia iustis
Sit procul; hoc bellis omen abesse decet.
Cresus perdet Halim[110] transgressus plurima regna
Responsum Creso funebre tale fuit.
'Rex cadet in bello, veniet Ferrandus honore
Parisius;' venit regis honore miser.[111]
Hec absint igitur a nostris regibus, arma
Ius moveat, palmam ius ratioque dabunt.
Rex pro iure suo cum puppibus equora sulcat
Anglicus, et velis litora tuta petit.
Scoti preceleres mactant in litore tauros[112]
De bove viginti fercula danda parant.
Parcas larga manus damnans Albania Scotos
Ponit in exemplum dapsilitate sua.
<34> Sanctonico[113] portu defigitur anchora. Regi
Hugo se sociat, consociatque fidem.
Nobilis hic idem reginam duxerat Hugo

106 See also line 292 above.

107 '*qui*' as in MS, not '*quod,*' with Wright.

108 '*Mors sine morte,*' Gregory, *Moralia in Iob*, 9. 66. This passage on omens and augury may reflect John of Salisbury, *Policraticus,* 1.12-13.

109 '*Quam*' with MS, for Wright's '*quod.*'

110 This refers to the Lydian king Croesus' defeat by Cyrus, following his crossing the Halys in BCE 547; so read '*Halim*' for Wright's '*alim*'. Croesus misinterpreted the ambiguous response of the Delphic

<33> But we sailors place our hopes in uncertainty, and do not respect the waves. God himself sets free the bold. The swell subsides, the South wind falls silent, the North wind blows, the murk slips away, out comes the sun and the harbour is near.'

With these words the sailor's rule of thumb gave strength to the hearts of the mass of the soldiers, as the billowing sails flew over the sea. That sort of precaution is acceptable, but I have a visceral loathing of the abomination of augury. It gives rise to a tearful lament, as people who are damned believe what reason and good faith deny. The old enemy generates an empty hope in these credulous people, leading them astray by his cunning. They die through their own credulity, and an enduring death that never dies snatches their unhappy souls. How it lacks reason, that a favourable omen will hang on a flying bird which does not know that nets have been laid for it. It does not protect itself against bird-lime, and will give omens which are pleasing to you, idiot, that it will be unable to grant to itself. Creatures that cross your path will give you neither good nor evil; with the exception of the tiger, which indiscriminately seizes everything as its prey. Let the false elegy of chance and augury stay far away from just people; it is right that this kind of omen should play no part in wars. 'Croesus will lose vast kingdoms if he crosses the Halys'—such was the doom-laden response to Croesus. 'The king will fall in battle, Ferrand will come in glory to Paris.' Wretched Ferrand came for the king's glory.

May our kings therefore be spared these things, may right guide their weapons, then right and reason will grant victory. The English king ploughs through the waves with his ships to defend his rights, and seeks safe shores with his sails. The Scots slaughter fast-running bulls on the beach, and prepare twenty plates of offerings from one beast. Generous Scotland censures stingy hands, and offers the Scots as an example through its generosity.

<34> They cast anchor at the port of Royan, and Hugh joins the king and pledges his support. This same noble Hugh had married the queen of the English, while

oracle which foretold that he would destroy a great empire by invading Persia. This was recorded by Herodotus, 1.53, and well-known to classical Latin writers, e.g. Lucan, 3.272, '*Croeso fatalis Halys.*'

111 Another misleading prediction, in this case about the battle of Bouvines, 27 July 1214, *DTE,* 3.311-14. See also Wright's note, p. 148, and Duby (1973), p. 93. William le Breton, *Gesta,* 202, reported that the countess of Flanders received the misleading prophecy that a king would be unhorsed in battle and receive no burial, and that Ferrand, count of Flanders and son of King Sancho I of Portugal, would participate in a grand procession in Paris after the victory. In fact Philip II of France was unhorsed, but rescued, and Ferrand was paraded in Philip's victory procession.

112 Ovid, *Met.,* 11.394, '*stratosque in litore tauros.*' '*Albania*' confusingly means 'Scotland', GM, 2. 23. In classical mythology it was customary to make a sacrifice on arrival on foreign shores.

113 Henry landed at Royan in the territory of Saintonge.

Anglorum, nato regna tenente suo.
Mente bona ductus Henricus[114] trans mare traxit
Ut restauraret perdita castra duci.
Sed voto fraudita suo spes vana vagatur
Et fallit vatem garrula sepe suum.
Non fuerat comitis probitas culpanda fidelis
Mitis cum venit rex sine gente sua;
Gens proba Pictavie sua novit robora, metas
Defendit, bellis invigilare studet.
Miles grassatur, pauper spoliatur, amicus
Ignoratur, agri copia preda datur.
O stupor ! in mundo maiori[115] regnat amoris
Gratia, pax stabilis, lex sacra, norma tenax.
Dicere mira Dei nequeo, nec pingere plene
Immo creatoris cogito posse mei. [79r]
Vis prepes mundi velut 'X' transponitur alti
Qua movet et salvat omnia forma Crucis.
Applanos[116] occurrit testante Platone planetis
Quos tamen oppositis motibus unit amor.
Luna petit mensem, sol, Stilbons[117] et Venus annum
Sed Mavors annos vult sibi pene duos.
Dono Iovi bis sex annos, trigintaque patri,[118]
Ut valeant ciclos hiis peragrasse suos.
Sed minor est mundus eternis legibus obstans
In se dum pacis vincula rumpit homo.
Belli subsequitur effectus, damna pudorque
Motaque gens, iactans lingua, cupido rapax.
Hec Crucesignatis facio preludia, quorum
Bella[119] *canam, vita sospite, dante Deo.*
Sub Cruce qui moritur vel vivit, probra, susurros,
Prelia non metuit , firmus amore Crucis.[120]
<35> Ergo prona malo ceptum plebs damnat Hugonis,
Dissonus et Rumor ruminat acta nova.
Ensi Pictavia succumbit, Marchia metas
Amittit, victrix Gallia castra[121] capit.
Hec cadit, hec surgit; hec meret, ridet et illa.
Nox lucem, noctem lux nova sepe rapit.
Pro sancta Cruce pugna gravis fecunda tenetur.
Merces militibus sunt duo, terra, polus.

114 Read '*Henricus*' with grammar and MS, not '*Henricum*' with Wright.
115 i.e. in the world of the heavens, where the harmonious relationships between heavenly bodies prevail.

her son held the kingdom. Henry crossed the sea with good intentions, to restore the lost fortresses to their commander. But empty hope wanders, deceived by its own prayer, and, full of words, often misleads its own prophet. The pedigree of the loyal count had not been to blame, when the king came peaceably without his people. The nobility of Poitou knows its strength, defends its borders, and makes sure it stays alert in wars. Knights maraud, the poor are plundered, friends do not recognise each other, the abundance of the land is handed out as booty. Oh lunacy! In the wider universe the grace of love, settled peace, the sacred law, and a strong standard hold sway. I do not know how to tell of the miracles of God, nor do I think I can adequately depict the miracles of my Maker. The driving force of the world above is expressed as an 'X', through which the shape of the cross drives and saves everything there is. According to Plato, the Applanos accommodates itself to the planets, which love holds together through opposing forces. The moon takes a month, the sun, Mercury, and Venus take a year, but Mars wants around two years; I allocate twelve years to Jupiter, and thirty to his father, as long enough for them to complete their cycles. But it is the lesser world which stands in the way of eternal laws, so long as Man breaks the chains of peace against himself. The impact of war is the consequence, shameful harm, the nation in upheaval, the boasting tongue and grasping lust.

I am creating this prelude for the crusaders, of whose wars I shall sing, provided my life is preserved through God's gift. He who dies or lives under the Cross, is not afraid of insults, derision, or battles, steadfast in love of the Cross.

<35>Therefore the common people, bent on evil, condemn what Hugh has begun, and discordant Rumour chews over his recent deeds. Poitou falls to the sword, La Marche loses territory, and triumphant France captures his fortresses. The one falls, the other rises; the one grieves, while France laughs. Night extinguishes the light,

116 '*Applanos*' (Greek nominative), refers to the fixed framework of which the planets form part, and occurs extensively in Plato's *Timaeus* available in the Middle Ages through a fourth-century translation into Latin by Calcidius. The term appears in Adelard of Bath's *Quaestiones naturales,* and in various commentaries, e.g. by William of Conches. Lines 483-88 reflect Calcidius, 73.

117 Mercury.

118 Mars, Jupiter and Saturn respectively.

119 '*Quorum*' is deleted by the scribe at the beginning of the line.

120 Lines 489-96 and 503-04 seem to be further sections of the *Exhortatio*, see n. 81 above.

121 '*petit*' is deleted in the text in favour of '*capit*.'

Nudati lugent rurales qui sibi plangunt
Currus abstractos, farra, boves et equos.
Lugentes clamant, 'Domini sint tot maledicti,
Reges, prepositi, preco, pedester, eques.
Nos miseri morimur, dum nos mucrone probamus
Ius ducis, asscribat victor ut equa sibi.
Est miles gladium nondum vibrare peritus,
Doctor qui nescit verba Latina loqui.'
Sic ruralis adhuc pugnas et equitia damnat,[122]
Culpans quorundam pontificale iugum.[123]
In tirociniis plausus elegia planctu
Surripit, et tristi funere pompa perit.[124]
In bellum versa, belli bacchatur imago[125]
Ipsam rem fallax induit umbra rei.
Rurales damnum redimunt, non funera, donis
Que dominis donant sanguine parta suo.
'Nos facit agrestes agrestis vita, iacensque
Paupertas, positum ius, dominusque gravis'.
Vir generosus erit sola virtute coruscus,
Inguine non vili spermaticaque lue.
Est ex conceptu, partu, victu, gemituque,
Discursu, lapsu, verna laboris homo.
Hec est pernicies belli, quod ver parit, estas[126]
Auget, et autumnus perficit, illa[127] metit.
Aureus equales Aries cum ponderat horas
Et Mars in signo iam movet arma suo,[128] [79v]
<36> Reges expandunt vexilla ferosque refrenant
Cornipedes. Tondent gramina veris opes,
Cesariem Cereris resecant et brachia Bacchi,[129]
Cum seges opprimitur, strataque vitis obit.
Pauperis eripitur victus, dum tempora flores
Producunt, miseri marcida vita perit.[130]
Belli clamosus preco, dolor intonat agris
Evacuatque vias strage, timore, sono.
Regibus est iactura minor si sorbet Avernus
Exutas animas,[131] membraque nuda iacent.
Ecclesie decime pereunt, oblatio crebra
Non datur, emarcet pascua, languet ovis.

122 Rubric in right margin, '*De periculis in tyrociniis.*' At this time these mainly consisted of the 'mêlée', mounted skirmishing between groups of knights, billeted with their horses on the local population.

123 This is a criticism of the bishops for not preventing tournaments, which were opposed by the Church and eventually banned in France in 1260.

124 See Prologue.129-30.

125 i.e. tournaments as war in miniature.

and the new dawn often ends the night. The hard battle for the holy Cross is said to be fruitful. There are two rewards for knights, land and Heaven. [But] the people of the countryside are stripped naked and are full of woe, lamenting their stolen carts, grain, cattle and horses. Grieving they cry, ' A curse on all our masters, kings, commanders, magistrate, infantry or cavalry. We are dying in misery, so long as we testify to the rights of our leader with our swords, so that the victor can sign away equal rights to himself. A knight not yet skilled enough to wield a sword is like a doctor who cannot speak Latin words.' Thus the country people complain of battles and forced stabling of horses, blaming the papal yoke laid upon certain people. In tournaments the funeral poem snatches away the applause with lamentation, and the swagger dies the death in mournful burial. Transformed into war, its mirror image rampages, and the deceiving shadow of reality takes on the appearance of the real thing. Country people redeem their lords' [financial] loss, not the deaths, by the gifts won with their own blood which they give to them. Living in the country, abject poverty, imposed duties, and an oppressive lord turn us into bumpkins. A man of truly noble stock will shine through his virtues alone, with no base breeding or corruption of his seed.

Man is a slave to travail from his conception, birth, way of life, and by his laments, his passage through life, and his faults.

This is the curse of war, which spring gives birth to, summer makes grow, and autumn brings to ripeness, and winter reaps. When golden Aries holds the hours in equal balance and Mars bears his weapons under his own sign, <36> kings unfurl their standards, and curb their spirited chargers. These forces of spring scythe the grass, and cut the locks of Ceres and the limbs of Bacchus, when the harvest is trampled and the vines are bent low and killed. The poor man's provisions are ripped up [from the ground], just at the time when the weather is bringing forth flowers, and in his wretchedness his parched life withers. Grief, that clamorous herald of war, echoes through the fields, and empties the roads by slaughter, fear and noise. It is a minor loss for kings if Avernus sucks in souls stripped bare, and limbs lie naked. The Church's tithes are extinguished, regular offerings are not given, the flock grows thin, the sheep grows weary. The priest is in exile and in need. Which bishop

126 Rubric in right margin '*De qualitate temporis vernalis, et de tempore belli.*'
127 '*Illa*' is presumably winter.
128 Respectively the Spring equinox and the sign of Aries.
129 Literally 'cut the hair of Ceres and the arms of Bacchus', i.e. corn and vines. Ceres and Bacchus were respectively the Roman gods of the harvest and of wine.
130 See *CM*, 4.197-98, for another account of the count's preparations against the French in 1242. There are many similarities of language and imagery.
131 '*exutas animas*,' *DTE*, 1.366.

Presbiter exul eget. Quis episcopus arguit ipsos[132]
Reges, quis causam ponderat, equa probat?
Querebant animam Dagoberti regis[133]Averni
Precones, illam non habuere tamen.
Fecerat ecclesiam quae precensebat[134] iniquis
Actibus. O reges, templa parate Deo!
Pro templo tibi constructo, sacer O Dionisi,[135]
Rectius ad libram principis acta vocas.
Quidam prelati propugnant canonis ense[136]
Quo nummos, mannos, predia, vasa tenent.
Prelati prelata potest elegia dici,
Qui male dispensat tradita dona Dei.[137]
Nil logico nil grammatico dabit; immo canenti
Garcifero,[138] populi quem iubet esse patrem,
Burnello calices confert, altaria porco,
Septa lupo, vulpi iura, stolamque capro.
Noctua sub tali fenix est iudice, cornix
Pavo, leo taxus, Caspia[139] tigris ovis.
Inter prelatos et reges bestia talis
Vivit adulatrix,[140] blandaque lambit eos.
Magni doctores rigidi nimis ense minantur
Canonico feriunt interimuntque bonos.
<37>Hic tonat in cives Ysabelle, non in avari[141]
idola; periuros preterit, arma, dolos.
Nemo nisi iuret alio vult credere, mundus
Est quia corruptus, et quia rara fides.[142]
Multi sunt qui non metuunt iurare, nec esse
Periuri, faciunt qui scelus ere[143] brevi.
Prelia prelati cum sint utrimque secuti,
Non est qui pacis dulce resarcit opus.
In se Christicole quia densant prelia, trenos
Plebs iterat querulos funereosque sonos

132 Another criticism of the ineffectiveness of bishops.

133 Dagobert I (c. 603-639). See Wright's note, p. 149, and *Vita Sancti Dagoberti Regis, MGHS, rerum Merovingicarum,* 2, 509-24. A hermit was said to have seen demons dragging the soul of Dagobert to hell, only to be thwarted by Saints Denis, Maurice and Martin. Rubric in left margin '*De iustitia regis Dagoberti, exempli causa.*'

134 '*Precenseo*' is given the meaning 'forewarn' by Latham, but does not appear in other dictionaries. The context suggests something more like 'outweigh.'

135 Dagobert built the Abbey of Saint Denis (Dionysius), precursor of the Cathedral of Saint Denis in which he and most subsequent French kings were buried. John sees him as a direct predecessor of Louis IX, builder of Sainte Chapelle. The Capetians were keen to demonstrate their descent not only from Charlemagne, but back to the Merovingians. See Spiegel (1983).

136 Rubric in left margin '*De praelatis quibusdam, qui debent niti ad pacem.*'

is taking these very kings to task, which is reflecting on the case, which bishop is examining what is just?

The appraisers of Avernus were searching for the soul of King Dagobert, but they did not hold on to it. He had constructed a church, which outweighed his wicked deeds. Kings, prepare temples to God! O holy Denis, in exchange for the church built for you, you are so right to call the deeds of the king into the balance.

Certain prelates fight with the sword of canon law, by means of which they get their hands on coins, horses, plunder, and plate. The sad tale has been exposed and can be told, of the bishop who corruptly spends the gifts of God entrusted to him. He will give nothing to a logician, nothing to a grammarian. Far from it. He will make grants to a singing groom, giving instructions that he be father of the people; he donates goblets to an ass, altars to a pig, sheepfolds to a wolf, rights to a fox, and vestments to a goat. Under a judge such as this, the owl is a phoenix, the crow a peacock, the lion a badger, the Caspian tiger a sheep. Such a beast lives as a sycophant among the bishops and kings, and fawningly flatters them. Mighty doctors over-harshly make threats with the sword of canon law; they are wounding and killing good men. <37> But he directs his thunder at Isabella's fellow citizens, not against the false gods of that covetous man. He passes over oath-breakers, weapons and deceptions. No-one is willing to believe anyone unless he swears an oath, because the world is corrupt, and because trust is in short supply. There are many people who are not afraid to swear an oath, or to perjure themselves, who commit a crime for a petty reward. When the bishops follow the battles on both sides, there is not one who nurtures the sweet work of peace. The people are repeating their plaintive laments and the sounds of death, because Christians are fighting more and more battles against each other.

137 We do not know which bishop John had in mind. Lines 555-58, which reveal John's personal grudge, strongly suggest sour grapes.

138 '*Garcifer*' or 'groom,' is not found in classical Latin.

139 Read '*Caspia*' , with Hays, for '*tapsia*' in MS and Wright. '*Tapsia*' does not occur elsewhere signifying an animal. Latham's entry reads 'a kind of animal (1252)', presumably referring to this apparently unique instance. '*Talpa*' / 'mole' is also attractive as opposite for 'tiger,' with '*Ovis*' as the first word of the next sentence, but it does violence to the metre.

140 The punctuation of this passage differs from Wright's to give better sense as a series of grotesque comparisons. For a similar attack on *adulatio*, see John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 3, 4-7.

141 '*Avari*' may be corrupted from, e.g. '*Cathari,*' but could refer to riches and greed as the graven images of misers. Lines 565-66 seem to have been transposed with lines 563-64.

142 '*Rara fides,*' Horace, Odes, 1.35.21. In line 567, read '*alio*' for '*alii*' in MS and Wright.

143 '*ere brevi*' / 'small reward.'

Olim spreverunt sacri tormenta, tyrannos,[144]
Iras, blanditias, vim, probra, dona, minas.
Victricis virtute Crucis sunt mira peracta,
Confirmantque fidem facta stupenda sacram.
Gemini regis[145] motu fundata libelli
Pagina continuat pristina mira Crucis. [80r]
Ut Cruce signentur reges miracula suadent[146]
Pro Cruce que fecit omnipotentis amor.
Sicut Beletici[147] testantur scripta Johannis,
Sanguineos fluxus fudit imago Crucis.
Hanc Iudea domo quadam conspexit et illam
Vidit sanguineam dum violavit eam.[148]
Sic fidei robur incredula turba recepit
Nosque docet sanctam magnificare Crucem.
Demonis in phanum Iudeus tempore noctis
Venit, et advenit demonis horror ei.
Se Cruce signavit, signatum vas bene demon,
Sed vacuum, dixit. Credidit ergo timens.[149]
Nec presul tetigit monialem quam tetigisse
Proposuit, sicut dixerat unus ibi.
Deponi ducibus fastum Crux optat, et eius
Heraclius cultor. Clausaque porta Salem,
Rex humilis factus reseratam venit in urbem,[150]
Angelus ut monuit edocuitque fides.
<38> Factam Martha Crucem de ligno sancta draconi
Sevo monstravit, qui quasi stabat ovis.
Iniecit collo pavido sua cingula tradens
Hunc populo, cuius hunc necuere manus.[151]
Peccatis hodie, populi, clerique ducumque,
Raro scintillant mira corusca Dei.
Regia vis hodie patres patrat, at Deus olim[152]
Mirreo dederat te, Nicholae, gregi.
Sanctus Honoratus[153] prestructus pneumate sancto
Factus de laico simplice presul erat.

144 Rubric in left margin, '*De sanctis prelatis sive pacificis.*'

145 The MS has '*Gemini regis*' which makes sense as 'the two kings'; but the usage is strange, and the line may be corrupt.

146 Rubric in right hand margin, '*Miranda quedam Crucis.*'

147 Magister Johannes Beleth, who taught and wrote in Paris (c. 1135-82). The story of the bleeding crucifix does not appear in Beleth's *Summa.* See Hauréau (1877), 71. John seems however to have used ch. 125 of the *Summa* for his references to Julian the Apostate, and to the legend of the wood of the Cross, Douteil ed., *Johannis Beleth Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*' (Turnhout, 1976). See also *DTE*, 1.407-14, 2.880-84.

The saints of old had no respect for torture, tyrants, anger, flattery, violence, insults, bribes or threats. The miracles of the victorious Cross were achieved by courage, and astonishing deeds strengthen the holy faith. The pages of my book have their basis in the upheaval between the two kings, and they continue with the past miracles of the Cross. It is the miracles which love of the Almighty achieved for the sake of the Cross which persuade kings to become crusaders.

As the writings of John Beleth bear witness, a replica of the Cross gushed streams of blood. A Jewess caught sight of the Cross in a certain house and saw it shedding blood as she treated it with disrespect. This is how the mass of unbelievers absorbed the power of belief, and it teaches us to glorify the holy Cross.

A Jew entered the shrine of a demon during the night, and dread of the demon entered into him. He crossed himself, and the demon said the vessel was duly marked with the Cross, but empty. And so the fearful Jew believed. Nor did the bishop molest the nun he had intended to assault, as someone who was there said. The Cross and its devotee Heraclius want to strike out pride from our rulers. Although the gate of Jerusalem had been closed, once the king had made himself humble the city was unlocked and he entered it.

As the angel advised and as her faith taught her, <38> Saint Martha brandished a wooden cross at a fierce dragon, which stood still as if it were a sheep. She looped her girdle round its trembling neck, and handed it over to the people, who slaughtered it. The glorious miracles of God rarely cast their shining light nowadays because of the sins of the people, the clergy and the rulers. Nowadays princely power determines our bishops, but long ago it was God who had given you, Nicholas, to his flock in

148 Variants of this story and language appear in collections of Marian miracles. See *Stella,* 117 & 177-78.

149 This too is a familiar story. See, for instance, Gregory, *Dialogi,* 3.7.

150 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor (610-641) was credited with recovering the True Cross from the Persians, probably in 630. Finding the gates of Jerusalem blocked, on the advice of an angel the emperor removed his royal trappings and dismounted. At this display of humility, the city gates opened spontaneously, JdeM, 382. See Baert (2004), 133-93, for the Legend of the Exaltation of the Cross, and Paul (2012), 190-95 for the resonance of the Heraclius story to crusading.

151 St. Martha was the biblical sister of Mary Magdalene. JdeM, 243, '*stetit ut ovis et ligavit eum cingulo suo*' recounts that she reached Provence with Mary and their brother Lazarus, and performed this miracle.

152 St. Nicholas (270-343) , JdeM, 14-21, was bishop of Myra in Lycia. This section, 605-46, compares the bishops of old with those of the present day, who obtain office through wealth and military power. '*Pater*'= 'bishop.'

153 St. Honoratus (*c.* 350-429), Archbishop of Arles, believed to have converted from paganism.

Sanctus Germanus piusque Lupus Anglica regna[154]
Olim purgabat a satione mala.
Cum quadringentis tunc quinquaginta peracti
Sunt anni peperit ut sacra Virgo Deum,
Tunc Vortigernum fex Pelagiana tyrannum
Infecit; fecem tersit amena fides.
Que tunc vaticinans dixit Merlinus omitto,
Ne seriem rumpant propositumque meum.[155]
Gildas historicus miracula plurima scripsit
Que tunc per sacros facta fuere duos.[156]
Electus fuit Eligius prestructus in arte
Fabrili, cuius plurima mira patent.[157]
Constantis fidei datur exemplaris imago
Eligius sanctus mirus in arte fabri.
Clotario regi sellam componere iussus
Ex auro fabricat preradiante duas.
Pro pretio geminam sedem componit eodem,
Furtum quod sapiat nil retinere volens.
Discite fallaces aurum quicumque sititis!
Exuret vestram seva gehenna sitim.
Urbe triumphavit celi post prelia mundi
Christus; ut hec Christo preside sevus agat [80v]
Sanctus Dunstanus, Sathane cum forcipe nasum
Pressit, et a fabrica iussit abire sua.[158]
<39> Bacchatur sanctos dum Maximianus in omnes,
Albanus martir Amphibalusque cadunt.[159]
Martinus modicus clamidem divisit egenti
Dans partem;[160]dives sit pater ergo dator.
Sancto Gudlaco scuticas gerit Angelus, illis[161]
Demonicas acies ut scuticare queat.
Hiis signoque Crucis pulsus, corus ille paludes
Obstruit huic sancto consolidatque locum.
Hii pro militia sancte Crucis alta tonantis
Atria, non fragiles promeruere casas.
Elegit tales olim Deus, at modo presul
Eligitur logica qui probitate preit.
Post nummos venit ad gladios electio sepe,
Et sedem validus robore preses habet.

154 St. Germanus (*c.* 378- *c.* 448), bishop of Auxerre, visited Britain around 429 with Bishop Lupus of Troyes, where he successfully countered the Pelagian heresy, see GM, 101.

155 A surprising example of restraint!

156 Wright, p. 149, notes that it was Nennius, not Gildas, who recounted the miracles of Saints Germanus and Lupus, but that Nennius' chronicle was often attributed to Gildas in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. John probably relied on Geoffrey of Monmouth anyway.

Myra. Saint Honoratus was instructed by a holy breeze and turned into a bishop from an ordinary layman. Saint Germanus and holy Lupus once cleansed the English realms of their evil crop. Four hundred and fifty years after the Blessed Virgin gave birth to God, the Pelagian filth infected the tyrant Vortigern. Calm faith washed away the pollution.

I am leaving out the prophecies which Merlin uttered at that time, so as not to interrupt the sequence of my theme. The historian Gildas wrote of the very many miracles which were performed at that time by two saints. Eligius was chosen, who was trained in the blacksmith's art, and there is evidence of many of his miracles. This saint, who performed miracles of the smith's art, is offered as an exemplary reflection of steadfast faith. He was instructed to make a throne for King Clothaire, but constructed two from exceptionally brilliant gold. He constructed the second identical throne within the amount he was being paid, but did not want to keep anything which he knew to be thieving. Learn [from this], you fraudsters who thirst after gold! The rigours of hell will burn out your longing.

Christ triumphed in the Heavenly city after His earthly battles. To achieve the same under Christ's leadership, Saint Dunstan in his rage squeezed Satan's nose with his tongs and told him to leave his workshop. <39> While Maximian ran riot against all holy men, Alban the Martyr and Amphibalus fell. Martin, a man of modest means, ripped his cloak, giving part of it to a needy man; and so may rich fathers of the church be benefactors! An angel applied the scourge to Guthlac, so that he could [himself] lash the cohorts of demons with it. That rabble were driven by the scourge and by the sign of the Cross to dry out the marshes for this saint, and make a sound place for him.

These [saints] have earned the lofty halls of the Thunderer as their reward for their service as soldiers of the holy Cross, rather than flimsy shacks. Once upon a time, God chose such men. Nowadays the logical choice as a bishop is the man who is pre-eminently rich; but after the money [has been taken into account] the choice often depends on swords, and a powerful incumbent holds on to his seat by force.

157 St. Eligius (Éloi) (*c.* 588-660) was the chief adviser to Dagobert I (see *DTE*, 2.545 and nn. 133 & 135. Before this he worked in the Kingdom of the Franks and performed this commission for King Clothaire II. See JdeM, 12-13 & *Vita Sancti Eligii*, *MGHS rerum Merovingacarum*, 4, 672. Note the play on '*electus*'/ '*Eligius.*'

158 St. Dunstan (909-988), Eadmer of Canterbury, *Vita Sancti Dunstani,* 11, pp. 66- 67.

159 Saints Alban and Amphibolus, see GM, 77. Maximianus, Diocletian's '*princeps militae*' in Britain, is accused of persecution of Christians.

160 St. Martin of Tours (c. 316-397), see e.g. Bartholomew of Trent, 337-42, JdeM, 457, '*… partitam ense clamidem quae sola supererat illi dedit.*'

161 St. Guthlac of Crowland , see e.g. Henry of Avranches, *Vita Beati Guthlaci metrice composite.* Guthlac was a hermit in the Lincolnshire fens.

162 Rubric in left margin , '*De causis belli inter reges nostros.*'

Rustica sic turba verum vel proxima vero
Dixit; sed causas prosequar arte rei.[162]
Causam pretendit iustam sibi quilibet; armis
Et causis fidit Gallia Marte suo.
Inter Ricardum regem regemque Philippum[163]
Dissensus longi semina vidit Acron.
A Terra Sacra trans equora fluxit origo;
Hanc et bella liber proximus inde tenet.[164]
Undique Mars hodie regnat, divisaque regna
Causas pretendunt Martis habere novi.
Romanos Cesar expugnat. Parthia calcat
Jerusalem, templum gens scelerata tenet.
Sevos Tartareos Germania magna repellit.
Hispani Libicos vi dominante fugant.[165]
In medio positi reges ad prelia nostri
Causantur gladiis et sua iura probant.
Hinc capit hos Renus, hinc Alpes hinc et Iberi
Montes, hinc pelagus oceanusque vagus.
Terminat has metas quedam quadrangula forma
Quam recipit mundi spherica forma brevem.
<40> Magna tamen bellis Pipinos gignit, alitque
Hec Karolos, per quos est sacra tuta fides.
Insultu crebro moventi, menia capta
Sunt gallis.[166] Taurus robore stare nequit.
In taurum gallus armatur, cornua tauri
Deicit, in tauro vis inimica perit.[167]
In Frontineium[168] Martis convertere frontem
Rex sapit, et fossas fronte carere facit.

163 See also *DTE,* 1.293-94 for causal linkage between Acre and the confrontation in Poitou.

164 Rubric in left margin, '*De discordia generali et de situ Gallie.*' John says he will cover the Third Crusade in the next book.

165 The passage clearly dates from the mid-1240s, with references to Frederick II's battles against Rome, the Khwarazmian occupation of Jerusalem, the Mongol invasions and Spanish successes against the Muslims.

166 In a foretaste of his consideration of the respective merits of the French and English, John introduces the 'cocks' (*galli*) of France (Gallia) and the 'bulls'/ 'rosbifs' of England.

167 Wright's punctuation is changed.

168 Wright, p. 150, correctly identifies this as Castrum de Frontenay (*CM*, 4.206-07), now Fontenay Rohan-Rohan (Poitou-Charentes). The MS has (most unusually) an explanatory gloss '*castellum*'

Thus the rural population told the truth or something close to it, but I will pursue the [underlying] causes through skilfully using the facts. Anybody can persuade himself that he has a just cause, but it was because of her military power that France placed trust in her weapons and in her causes. Acre witnessed the seeds of the long quarrel between King Richard and King Philip. Its root cause flowed across the seas from the Holy Land, and my next book includes this and the wars. Mars rules everywhere today, and the various kingdoms purport to have justifications for a new war. Caesar is taking the Romans by storm, the Parthians are trampling on Jerusalem, a defiled race holds the Temple. Mighty Germany is driving back the savage Mongols, and the Spanish are routing the Libyans by dominating force. Drawn up for battle in the midst [of all this], our own kings engage in legal argument with swords, and assert their rights.

On one side they are confined by the Rhine, here by the Alps, here by the Pyrenees, on the other side by the sea and the far-ranging Ocean. A rough square sets these boundaries, which the round shape of the world embraces as a small part. <40> Yet this quadrilateral, mighty in war, gave birth to the line of Pepin, and nurtured the line of Charlemagne, thanks to whom the holy faith is safe. Fortifications are captured by the Cockerels, on frequent, mobile attacks, and the bull cannot hold his ground through his strength. The cock is armed against the bull, he deflects down the bull's horns, and the force of aggression dies in the bull. The king skilfully turned the gaze of Mars to Fontenay, and deprived the moats of their defences. So stretching out the war was not wasted effort, however much his Poitevin enemy sneered.

Plate 6. MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, f. 80v, Map of France, *DTE*, 2.663-66.

above '*Frontineium.*' John makes play of the pun on '*frons*' / 'forehead.' Despite its double wall and defensive moats, Fontenay fell to Louis in 15 days at the beginning of his campaign to reduce the Lusignan castles. Louis razed the walls and filled in the moats.

Non igitur cadit incassum productio belli,[169]
Quamvis derisum Pictavus hostis agit.
Causas pervertit mordax detractio; virtus
In vitium quadam proximitate cadit.
Nobilium procerum volitat detractio nulla.
Dumus enim pungit, non gena blanda rose. [81r]
Sepius indignos dum laudat vulgus, idemque
Laudando culpat, non timet ista comes.[170]
Quicquid plebs dicat, animosis patribus ortus
Corda sui generis hic generosa gerit,[171]
Legitimo domino dum vult herere,[172] nec era
Heros venatur, iusque fidemque sitit.
Belli causa fuit vigor huius et ardua virtus
Et magnis gestis Gallia clara suis.
Sic regis frater fuerat concausa. Quis ille?
Alphonsus. Quare? Quod petis, illud habe.
Dum subliminatur et Hugoni pretitulatur,[173]
Bellorum fomes fit novus ille comes.
Marchio munitur, et in[174] hostem tutius itur.
Regis germanus obicit ense manus.
Rex pius armatus, animosus, ad alta paratus,
Sentit quid valeat Marte, quid arte queat.
Hostes munitos invadit, et ense potitos
Fortius ense petit dum sibi cuncta metit.
Sub duce Francorum manus est collecta proborum
Ut queat Anglorum vi superare chorum.[175]

169 A map of France, with Paris at the centre of the world, is in the right margin (**Plate 6, p. 179).**

170 For Hugh X de Lusignan, see *DTE,* 1, n. 105.

171 MS has '*facit*' deleted before '*gerit;*' Punctuation of lines 683-86 is amended from Wright's, following the sense.

172 Read '*herere*' with MS, with dative '*domino,*' not '*habere*' with Wright. John's approach to Hugh is inconsistent, to the extent that he sympathises with English claims to Poitou, and pays respect to the Lusignan family; but he is critical of rebellion against his lord, the king of France. He also apportions blame to Isabella and Alphonse.

173 John writes in leonines in lines 691-709. 699-700 and 704-05 are also rhyming couplets.

174 Read '*in*' for Wright's '*vi.*'

175 An odd use of '*chorum*' but a contrived pun on '*chorum angelorum.*'

The bite of slander twists the underlying arguments, virtue slips over into vice through a certain affinity. No slander circulates against the noble magnates, for it is the bramble that pricks, and not the smooth petal of the rose. While the crowd often praises the unworthy, and brings them into disrepute by its very praise, the count has no fear of this. Whatever the common people may say, this man, scion of courageous forefathers, bears the noble spirit of his family. He wants to remain loyal to his rightful lord. This hero does not hunt for wealth; he thirsts for justice and trust. His vigour was a cause of this war, and his impetuous valour. France was made glorious by his great deeds.

So the king's brother was a contributory cause. Who was he? Alphonse. Why [was he responsible]? Here is your answer. By his elevation and assumption of lordship over Hugh, this newly appointed count sparked off wars. The Count de la Marche is building his defences, and proceeding more securely against his enemy. The king's brother blocked the way, sword in hand. The pious king was armed, courageous, and prepared for lofty deeds. He understood what would prevail through war, and what he could achieve by diplomacy. He invaded his armed enemies, and having mastered them by the sword, he seeks them out by a more powerful [weapon] than the sword, while he reaps the whole harvest for himself. A company of nobles has convened under the leader of the French, to enable him to defeat the company of the English by force.

<41> Gallia commota bello coit undique tota
Vires declarans, bella cruenta parans.
Assunt Campani[176] iuvenes et vertice cani,
Cum clipeis iuvenes, consiliisque senes.
Exacuunt enses et cultros Atrebatenses,
Notos Belvacus linquit ob arma lacus,[177]
Neustria tristatur proprio duce quod viduatur,
Corpus habens alibi, non habet hic cor ibi.[178]
Clam lamentatur Anglis quia bella minatur
Francia, cui pridem novit inesse fidem.
Allobroges aderant qui silvas deseruere.
Biturice properant bella movere fere.
Que movet in clerum bellum venit Aurelianis
Motibus insanis sumere prompta merum.[179]
Parisius proba non pugnat gens; parcere clero[180]
Provida, non curat perfidiam sua lex;
Lex sua perfidiam curat, non provida clero
Parcere, gens pugnat non proba clero.
Machina muralis, nummi, tentoria, vasa,
Arma coartuntur, que cava plaustra vehunt.
Pictavus insidiis ut mos est diripit ista
Sed vi Francorum preda recepta redit.
Mutuus occursus prede vacuusque recursus
Concipit invidiam, perfidiamque parit.[181]
Que mala sunt tantum non aggravat emula lingua,[182]
Immo pervertit que nituere bona.
Omni pro verbo vano responsio debet
Ante Deum reddi, iustaque pena sequi.
Sunt qui pro lucro linguis luctantur acutis,
Et qui decertant ense; sed ense cadunt. [81v]
In medio bello nullus bona predicat hoste
De proprio, quamvis se probet esse probum.
Vulnerat oppositas acies elegia lingue
Elate; plagas mutuat ergo novas.
<42> Prevolat invidie bellum iactantia stulta,
Indignans risus, antiphrasisque tropus[183]
Sic omnis regio propriis hostilia linguis
Prelia deridet, gestaque clara premit.

176 '*Campania*' is 'Champagne.' '*Vertice cani,*' '*Intempestivi funduntur vertice cani,*' Boethius, *De Cons.,* 1.1.11.

177 A reference to the Étangs de l'Abbaye (Oise).

178 Augustine, *Sermones,* 62.17, '*qui sic volunt intrare in ecclesiam ut hic corpus habeant, alibi cor. Totum intus esse debet.*' Read '*hic*' for Wright's '*hoc;*' either reading is possible. John appears to be suggesting that

<41> The whole of France is cast into turmoil by the war and becomes united on all sides, revealing its strength, and preparing a bloody campaign. The men of Champagne are there, youths and grey-haired men, the youths with shields, the old men with stratagems. The people of Arras sharpen their swords and knives, men of Beauvais leave their famous lakes because of the war. Normandy grieves, because it is deprived of its own duke. His body is elsewhere, and his spirit not there. It privately laments because France, which they knew they could trust in the past, is threatening war against the English. The Dauphinois were there, abandoning their forests. At warlike Bourges they hurry to advance the war. Orléans came, which makes war on the clergy, crazy with riots and with an eye to the bottle. The reputable people of Paris do not join the fight, their law is careful to spare the clergy, but does not take account of treachery. Their law does take account of treachery, but is not careful to spare the clergy, and the disreputable people of Paris fight the clergy. Siege engines, money, tents, plate, weapons are gathered together, and carried in the empty wagons. The Poitevins would usually loot the carts by stealth, but the French recovered the booty by force and brought it back. These mutual encounters over plunder, and the carts coming back empty, make resentment grow, and stir treason. It is not just bad things which envious tongues make worse, but they distort shiningly good deeds. Answer should be made before God for every vacuous word, and a just punishment should follow. There are some who fight with sharp tongues for money, and others fight things out with the sword; but these last die by the sword. In the midst of war, no one speaks well of his own enemy in public, however worthy he shows himself to be. The funeral lament of a raised voice wounds the battle lines facing each other, and so makes them exchange new blows.

<42> The stupid boasts of envy, the resentful laugh, the perverse use of words, colourful language are the precursors of war. Thus the people of every region [of France] ridicule the forces of the enemy in their own languages, and assail their distinguished exploits. Relying on its own charm, the elegant French language rhetorically plays with its enemies' names in naming them, The word 'Pictavus'

Normandy resents the fact that its dukes were not physically present, and since 1204, Capetian, not Angevin kings.

179 This line is literally transcribed from the MS. To make sense, '*Aurelianis*' has to be read as one of many variants on the name for Orléans. Wright's note, p. 150, reads, 'The city of Orleans was noted at this time for the sometimes sanguinary frays between the townspeople and the students in its ancient and celebrated university.'

180 Rubric in right margin, '*Versus retrogradi,*' referrring to lines 715-19, i.e. the same words can be read, and make grammatical sense, both forward and backwards, though with opposite meaning.

181 Rubric in left margin, '*De dampnis et de linguis detrahentibus in bellis.*'

182 '*emula lingua,*' Horace, *Ep.,* 1.19.15.

183 '*Antiphrasis*' involved euphemism, the use of a word in an opposite sense to its true meaning.

Nomine rhetorico proprios annominat hostes
Gallica lingua decens usa lepore suo.[184]
'Pictavus' est vere dictus, quia pingit avorum
Facta procax, pictas aut imitatur aves.[185]
Est etenim pictus, pulcher, validus; tamen ista
Dicta per antiphrasim[186] maxima turba refert.
Gallia transmittit gallos, Gallique furore
Hostes conantur dilacerare suo.
Sicut gallinas galli calcant, ita Gallus[187]
Suppeditat vulgus, rura, pecusque sibi.
Menia confringunt Franci, fortesque sibi villas
Submittunt, urbes evacuare student.
Pictavus hec contra; iactatrix Gallia verbis
Propugnat validis, horrisonisque minis.
Talia preludunt epiteta[188] miserrima belli.
Cur? Quia gesta canens ethicus esse volo,
Quorum pacificus Deus est; gaudere tenentur,
Firma pace Dei pacificaque fide.
Non sunt marticole[189] modo gentes, numina vana
Cessant, que sancte succubuere Cruci.
Inter linguosos hec est elegia lingue
Sepius ad gladium garrula lingua salit.
Ut quondam Peleus gaudebat coniuge diva,[190]
Sic tanquam diva coniuge Brunus ovat.
Anglorum regina decens denupserat illi;
Castris firma suis, altera diva maris,[191]
Ad natum trahit illa virum qui, victricus ante,
Privigno regi non cupit esse pater.
Gentes promisit sed rex non invenit illas,
Cernit enim cunctos Gallica regna sequi.
<43> Nondum concurrunt reges, sed prelia prima
Exercent partes igne, cruore, fame.
Ut sua venturis populis laus digna legatur,
Sic utriusque ducis splendida facta canam.
Hic bonus, ille pius, hic equus, iustus et ille,
Cedere nature certat uterque suae.
Sed vellem quod uterque suas converteret iras
In Parthas acies Martis agone feri.

184 '*Annominatio*' is a rhetorical figure using homonyms with contrasting meanings. John clearly liked the French vernacular.

185 This is a laboured etymological pun on '*Pictavus,*' which John presents as derived from '*pingere*' and either '*avus*'/'ancestor,' or '*avis*', 'bird'. He presses his point to breaking by repeating the *double entendre* likening the French / '*Galli*' to '*galli*'/ 'cockerels.' This is a very early use of cockerels and bulls

is truly said as a description of the Poitevin– he aggressively depicts (‘*pingit*’) the deeds of his ancestors (‘*avi*), or imitates the [brightly]-coloured (‘*pictas aves*’) birds. For he is tattooed [‘*pictus*’], handsome yet strong, but the masses feed back these attributes by calling the Poitevins the opposite. Gaul puts forth cockerels, and the Gauls try to tear their enemies to pieces by their own frenzy. As cocks mount hens, so the French subdue the masses, their land, and their animals under their control. The French destroy fortifications, bring strong towns beneath their power, and work to drive the population out of their cities. The Poitevins are quite different; but braggart Gaul fights with strong words and bloodcurdling threats.

Horrible descriptions of war like these form my prelude. Why? Because in writing of the deeds of those whose God is a peacemaker I want to be a moralist. They are obliged to rejoice in God’s lasting peace and in the faith which gives us peace. Those peoples which have surrendered to the blessed Cross are no longer warmongers and give up their vacuous deities.

This is the sad refrain on the tongue of gossips, and often a loose tongue leaps for its sword. As once Peleus rejoiced in the divinity of his wife, so Le Brun exults in his wife as if she were a goddess. The noble queen of the English had married him, safe in his fortresses, a second sea goddess. She drags her husband towards her son; Hugh was his stepfather before, and does not want to be father to a stepson who is a king. She promised [Henry] the [support of the] local populations, but he did not find them; he saw that everyone followed French rule.

<43> The kings are not yet in contention, but their factions are engaging in their first skirmishes, with fire, blood and starvation. To enable the good repute they deserve to be handed on to their peoples in the future, so I shall write of the glorious deeds of each leader. The one is good, the other pious. One is fair, the other true to the law. Each strives to conform to his own nature. But I would prefer that both of them, fierce in the contest of war, should divert their anger towards

as symbols of the French and English, perpetuated perhaps by ‘cock and bull stories,’ John Bull and *rosbifs*.

186 *CG*, 3.168, ‘*Antifrasim facies, cum derivatio vocis/ non sensus plene faciet.*’

187 Wright’s punctuation is amended to bring out John’s coarse and direct comparison of the French with cockerels.

188 *CG*, 3.145, ‘*Est epitheton ubi dicenda notatio restat.*’

189 In direct contrast with ‘*Christicole.*’

190 Peleus married the sea-nymph Thetis, mother of Achilles.

191 See Book 1, n. 105.

Hos animos, tales insultus, sumite contra
Hostes Ecclesie qui spoliatis agros.
Raptores ergo carpit mea Musa, minasque
Non circumspectas, instabilesque viros. [82r]
Tangit avaritie pestem, cupidique malignum
Votum spe lucri[192] qui nova bella cupit.
Sub Pharaone Ioseph dominus fratrumque patrisque
Beniamin in sacco iussit cratera recondi
Nos vocat exemplis ad pietatis opus.[193]
Ut sublimaret calliditate suos.
Calliditate studet hodie pars maxima mundi
Ut sibi divitias impietate trahat.
Diversos imitans Clio[194] diversa sequentes
Quicquid opinatur vulgus inerme notat.
Hec est in bello vulgaris opinio; bellum
Turma petens ridet, sed lacrimosa cadit.
Hic populus moriturus abit, iuvenique relinquit
Heredi vites, oppida, rura, domos.
Anglia luctatrix, equitatrix Gallia, cordis
Prelia premittunt anticipantque minas.
Hae populos ad bella trahunt, qui lucra petentes
Morte gravi perdunt que retinere putant.
Brabantina[195] manus cantando mortis ad horam
Festinat, mortis prodiga bella cupit.
Si Cruce signatus in Parthos iret, habere
Gaudia deberet, mors et honesta foret.
<44> Hec ait, 'O misera, potatrix Anglia. Per nos
Accipies calicem mortis,[196] eumque bibes.
In classem silve descendent.[197] Anglica terra
Nomine dicetur Gallica terra novo.
Hostes colla dabunt, iam nobis[198] menia nutant.
Angolisma gemit oppida fracta sua.[199]
Parisius regem victum ducemus, et illic
Rex regis nostri nobilis hospes erit.
Nulli parcemus; pecudes rapiemus et archas
Frangemus, quoniam rebus abundat honor.
Dat comes exemplum nobis; ubi dulcia lucra,
Hic erimus; pauper vilis ut alga iacet.'[200]

192 Read '*lucri*' for Wright''s '*lucti.*'
193 Gen. 41-44.
194 Clio, the Muse of History.
195 For the role of bands of mercenaries, known as *Brabançons,* in service variously with both kings, see Verbruggen (1997, trans.), 130-44. They were a major element of the defeated army at Bouvines, and, though discouraged by the Church, used by the 'crusaders' in the Languedoc.

the Parthian armies. You who are laying the fields to waste, take up your passions and your taunts against the enemies of the Church. My Muse rails at plunderers, ill-considered threats and wavering men. She touches on the plague of greed, and the evil longing of the lustful man, who hankers after new wars in hope of financial gain. By the examples of Joseph's brothers and father under Pharaoh, the Lord calls us to pious works. Benjamin ordered the wine-bowls to be hidden in a bag, so that he might uplift his people by his guile. Today most of the world strives through their guile to attract riches to themselves by impious means. Clio, in reflecting various people pursuing their various ends, takes note of whatever the unarmed mass of the people thinks. This is the [real] view of the crowd in war; they rush smiling into war, but die weeping. This people set off on their way to death, leaving to their young heirs their vines, towns, countryside and homes. The wrestler England, and France the horseman are pushing battles of the heart into the present and already deploying the challenges of the future. These two countries are drawing their peoples towards war, who in search of profit lose through the grimness of death [even] what they thought they would keep. The band of Brabanters rushes singing to the hour of death, and longs for wars liberally dispensing death. Yet if a crusader went out against the Parthians, he should experience joys, and his death would be worthwhile.

<44> The Brabanters say, 'Poor, drunken England, through us you will receive the cup of death, and drink from it. Your forests will be used to build a fleet, and land belonging to England will be called French land under a new name. Our enemies will bow their necks, their ramparts are tottering before us. Angoulême is lamenting its shattered fortresses. We will lead the king in defeat to Paris, and he will be the guest of our noble king. We shall spare no-one, we shall seize herds, and crack open treasure chests, since estate abounds in possessions. The count offers us an example. We shall be here, where there is sweet profit; a poor man lies like seaweed, devoid of value.'

196 '*Potatrix.*' Wright, p. 151, asserts that 'The English had an early reputation for drunkenness.' '*Calicem mortis*'carries an unmistakeable reference to the Communion cup and the service of the Mass.

197 '*In classem silve descendent*' is obscure. Perhaps it refers to construction of Henry III's invasion fleet.

198 Read '*nobis*' for Wright's '*vobis.*'

199 John seems to be saying that Isabella of Angoulême is lamenting the forts captured by Louis IX.

200 '*Alga*', 'seaweed,' by extension, 'a thing of little worth.' See Vergil *Ecl*, 7.42, '*Sardoniis videar tibi amarior herbis, / Horridior rusco, proiecta vilior alga.*'

Sed minus est culpandus Hugo; Reginaldus[201] eundem
Decepit, donis Gallica signa sequens.
Plus proponit adhuc moriturum vulgus, et hostis
Cautelam nescit, finis apertus erat.
'Tu, Reginalde, potes de Pontibus ire per undas
Ponti, dum pontes prestruis arte tibi.[202]
Argenti pontes tibi prestitit Anglia; sed te
Gallia fallacem nectit in ere rudi.[203]
Argenti sumus heredes, quod contulit illi
Anglia; mutat enim sordida preda manus.'
Dices quod falli meruit rex Anglicus. Istud
Ne dicas, iuste rex quia regna regit.
Pars tamen haec de iure suo non dicitur; immo,
Huic debet subici Neustria tota duci.
Quare tot terris privatur? Vis quia pratum[204]
Pascit; et est lucrum dulce decusque decens. [82v]
Plebs ita prima novat belli preludia, verba
Per mala, sed verbis deteriora facit.
Rident, derident, saliunt, maledicere gaudent,
Clamant; amentes crederet esse Plato.
Iurant, periurant, periuri vendere temptant
Pro magno pretio quod solet esse nihil.[205]
<45> Dum 'Petrus et Paulus,' dicunt, 'Non sunt meliores[206]
Hiis,' res in villa, fraude relata, latent.
Tales oderunt clerum, talesque sequuntur
Fortunam, tales bella lucrumque petunt.[207]
Primo terga fuge vertunt, dominumque relinquunt,
Et neutri parti constituere fidem.
Predam pro parvo pretiosam munere sepe
Vendunt, qui facinus funere sepe luunt.
Rex iustus prohibit raptus, incendia, furta
Fraudes, insidias, iurgia, probra, dolos.
Quilibet ere suo vivit, sua premia certa
Quisque capit, sicut postulat ordo suus.
At rex Anglorum, non pugnaturus,[208] in oras
Pictavie venit, litora pace tenens.
Raptum detestans, nulli damnosus, amorem

201 Reginald of Pons, see *CM*, 4. 192, 220, 254. Reginald was Lord of Pons, Henry III's first port of call after landing at Royan; but he surrendered swiftly to Louis. He had been receiving significant payments from Henry. John says he was bribed by the French king to change sides.

202 A play on '*Pons*,' '*pons*', and '*Pontus*'. The battle of Taillebourg was fought over a narrow bridge (*pons*).

203 '*Ere rudi,*' see Pliny. 33.3.

204 '*Vis pratum pascit, vis damnat saepe probatum,*' is listed as a Latin proverb by Wright (1846), vol. 1, 150.

205 i.e. their loyalty. The translation is speculative, and the reference to Plato obscure and probably corrupt. Saints Peter and Paul traditionally interceded between mankind and God.

But Hugh is less to blame. Reginald [of Pons] deceived him, seduced to the French side by gifts. The army, doomed to die, dangled yet more to tempt him. Hugh's enemy threw caution to the winds, and the outcome was obvious. 'You, Reginald of Pons, can pass from Pons through the waves of the sea, as you craftily build bridges for your own benefit. England has pledged bridges of silver to you, but France binds you, false as you are, with unfinished bronze [crude money]. It is we who have inherited the silver which England brought him, since squalid booty changes hands.'

You will say that the king of England deserved to be deceived. You shouldn't say that, since the king rules his realm justly. This region is said not to be from his rightful domain, but, on the contrary, the whole of Neustria should be under his rule. Why is he stripped of so many lands? Because superior force grazes the meadow, financial reward is sweet, and glory brings repute'.

Thus the mob stir the first prologue to war, through wicked words, but perform deeds which are worse than their words. They laugh, snigger, couple, revel in curses, and cause a furore. Plato would have believed they were out of their minds. They swear oaths, break their oaths, and, perjured, seek to sell for a high price what was usually worthless. While they say, 'Peter and Paul are not more virtuous than them,' their stuff lies hidden in their country house, and their fraud comes to light. Such people hate the clergy, just the kind to follow their luck, and seek war and financial gain. First they turn their backs in flight, abandon their lord, without having pledged loyalty to either side. People often sell their valuable booty cheaply, and often pay for their crime with their lives.

A just king outlaws plunder, arson, theft, deception, ambushes, fights, shameful actions and dirty tricks. Whoever lives by his own wages, reaps his own assured rewards, as his place in society demands.

Now the king of the English did not arrive at the shores of Poitou ready to fight, but held the coastal regions peacefully. Loathing rapine, wishing damage to no-one, he is gentle and deserves to have the love of his enemy. He sought his lands in peace,

206 A small mailed hand points to this line in the MS. Read, with MS, '*dicunt*' for Wright's '*dominant.*'

207 '*Tales,*' i.e. the sort of people who spread false rumours.

208 This is not how Matthew Paris reports the episode. Henry sailed on 15 May 1242, with the queen, Richard of Cornwall, seven other '*comites*' and around three hundred knights (*CM,* 4.192). Matthew reports that Henry's army on 20 July at the battle of Taillebourg comprised 1600 knights and 20,000 infantry, and seven hundred crossbowmen, only eighty of them English (*CM,* 4.210). The French king clearly perceived hostile intent (4.195).

Mansuetus meruit hostis habere sui.
Pace petit terram, cognatum pace salutat,
Pace ferens domino debita iura suo.
Audit pacifice Ludovicus; sed cito surgit
Turbo, qui turbat nobile pacis opus.
Dissuadent aliqui pacem, sed si mea reges[209]
Verba duo caperent, consiliumque pium,
Ambo Crucem caperent et ad oscula mutua leti
Se ferrent, pacis perpetuando bonum.
Victricis miranda Crucis misteria reges
Discite, post mire sumite signa Crucis.
Crux est vexillum palme, Crux celica scala.
Crux celi clavis, legis et ara nove.
Gloria iustorum defigitur in Cruce Christi,
Vita resurgentium rex quia Christus erit.
Sacre signa Crucis Sarrepte sunt duo ligna.[210]
In qua monstratur gloria, fervor, amor.
Est oleum vidue pietas, divina farina
Trita Crucis fructus, fructificansque fides.
<46> *Crux est virga petram feriens qua prosilit unda*
Dum reficit Christi nos lateralis aqua.
Eneus est serpens Christus quem pertica portat[211]
Crimina quo sanans est oculata fides.
Crux est currentum stadium, certantis asylum.
Virga viam Rubro perficit ista Mari.[212]
Crux est sacra tau[213] *signatum limine, quando*
Hec electorum frontibus alta patet.
Gaudia Crux reparat paradisi, Crux pretiosum
Lignum quod celo dulce reformat Adam.[214] [83r]
Hoc lignum sapiens Austri regina[215] *repulsum*
Mitis adoravit, proposuitque sacrum.
Occuluisse solo Salomon rex dicitur illud.
Tandem Probatice ripa recepit aque.
Hanc[216] *amplectatur sapiens, hanc quisque fidelis*
Diligat, hanc omnis fortis honoret homo.

209 Rubric in the left margin reads, '*Persuasio ut Christianitas Crucem accipiat, et de misteria sancte Crucis.*'

210 Read '*ligna*', with Hays, for '*lingua*', MS and Wright. See III Reg. 17, 8-24 for the story of the widow of Sarepta, or Zarephath, near Sidon. The Vulgate Bible has '*colligo duo ligna*'/ 'I am collecting up two sticks', in John's imagery representing the two pieces of the Cross. Elijah promised her that neither her oil nor flour would run out until rain should fall.

211 Num. 21, 8, '*Fecit ergo Moses serpentem aeneum et posuit pro signo.*' Snake bites were cured by sight of the bronze snake.

212 Ex. 14, 16, '*..eleva virgam tuam… ..ut gradiantur filii Israhel in medio mari per siccum.*' Moses parts the waters of the Red Sea with his staff.

in peace greets his kinsman, in peace brings the oaths of loyalty he owes to his lord. Louis listens to him peaceably, but a whirlwind swiftly arises, which blows apart their noble work of peace. Some counsel against peace, but if my words and god-fearing advice could capture the attention of the two kings, they would both take the Cross, and joyfully move to embrace each other, in extending the firmness of the peace for ever.

Kings, learn the wondrous mysteries of the conquering Cross, then take up the sign of the miracle-working Cross. The Cross is the banner of victory, the ladder to Heaven. The Cross is the key of Heaven, and the altar of the new law. The glory of just men is nailed into the Cross of Christ, because Christ the king will be their life when they rise from the dead. The two twigs are symbols of the Cross of holy Sarrepta, in which grace, ardour and love are depicted. The widow's oil represents piety, her milled, holy flour is the fruit of the Cross and faith which brings its own harvest.

<46> The Cross is the rod striking a rock, which causes a wave of water to gush out, while the water of Christ our companion renews us. Christ is the bronze serpent borne on poles, by which his egregious faith assuages our sins. The Cross is the stadium for runners, the place of refuge for those who struggle. It is the rod which creates the path through the Red Sea. The holy Cross is the *tau* marked on the lintel, since it is the Cross which stands proud on the foreheads of the chosen. The Cross wins back the joys of paradise. The Cross is the precious wood, which in its sweetness Adam reshaped in heaven. The wise queen of Sheba meekly worshipped it, after it had been rejected, and proclaimed it holy. King Solomon is said to have hidden it in the ground. Finally the bank of the Pool of Bethesda housed it. Let the wise man embrace the Cross, and each one of the faithful adore it, and let every

213 See *DTE,* 1.47 & n. 14 for another reference to the *tau*-shaped Cross.

214 John has followed John Beleth, *Summa,* 151. (*PL,* 202.152-53), in linking the earlier story of the queen of Sheba, the cedar wood from Adam's grave, and Christ's miracle at the Pool of Bethesda (John, 5.2, '*Piscina Probatica,*' literally 'Sheep pool'). Briefly, Solomon tried unsuccessfully to use timber from Adam's grave to build his temple. It would not fit and was incorporated in a bridge, which the Queen of Sheba crossed, recognizing the sanctity of the wood. Solomon subsequently buried it and the Pool of Bethesda sprang up on the site. An angel regularly visited the pool, agitating the water, and the first invalid to enter it would be cured. Like Beleth, John does not mention the angel, which features prominently in the *Golden Legend*. See Baert (2004), 289-349 for a full account of the 'Legend of the Wood of the Cross.'

215 Luc. 11, 31 and Matth. 12, 42 refer to '*Regina Austri*' as the judge of the generation which rejected Jesus. She is usually identified with the queen of Sheba, III Reg.10, who visited Solomon and was so impressed that she endorsed his God.

216 '*Hanc*' clearly refers to '*Crucem*' despite the absence of a recent grammatical appearance.

Ecce Crucis longum, latum, sublime, profundum.
Virtutum species quatuor ista notant;
Longum constantem, latum designat amantem.
Spem pars alta quidem misticat, ima fidem.
Hac vos vincetis, reges. Hanc ergo velitis
Sumere. Victricis tollite signa Crucis.
Pax est ad tempus male precipitata maligno[217]
Suggestu procerum, quos nova lucra trahunt.

217 Line 893 picks up the narrative from line 860. John accuses the magnates of wrecking the Anglo-French peace in 1242, and thus delaying a royal crusade, for reasons of personal gain.

brave man give it reverence. Behold the length, breadth, the high and the low of the Cross; these mark the four faces of the virtues; the length marks loyalty, the breadth denotes love, the upper part symbolizes hope, the lower part faith. By this will you be victorious, kings, may you desire to take up this Cross, raise the standards of the victorious Cross.

The peace has been shattered for the time being at the self-interested instigation of the magnates, who are drawn towards fresh riches.

Book 3

Incipit tertius liber cum invocatione facta ad primum motorem

<47> Horrida que scribo detestor prelia, sicut
Flebilis exequias quas canit odit anus.
Claudicat[1] idcirco mea Musa, nec ordine longo
Sex vadit pedibus carmen habile[2] mihi.[3]
Nutantes elegi Crucis inclinantur honori
Vertice cum prono, cum titubante pede[4].
Intendit regnum Ludovicus subdere paci
Hinc et in Assyrios bella movere[5] duces.
Regum conflictus alterna pace quiescent,
Sub duce Francorum signa ferente Crucis.
Ante tamen, varias ad prelia vestra ruinas,
Ecclesie planctus, funera, damna fleo.
Motor prime,[6] fave, ne nutent hec metra prave.[7]
Firmus cuncta moves, vivificansque foves,
Semina qui rerum nectis, genus et specierum
Et species generis absque labore seris.
Te, Deus, inspires menti, tribuens mihi vires.
Celitus irriguum fons mihi funde tuum,[8]
Corpus visibile qui simplice ducis ab yle,[9]
Mundum compositum mirificeque situm.
Circumdas gravia levibus, divina sophia,
Constringens media sub breviore via.
De nihilo vere tibi cuncta creata fuere
Te duo cuncta[10] sumus preside, mens et humus.
<48> Me rege scribentem, reges et bella canentem
Regia[11]; pacifero te duce tutus ero.
Ecce modus mundi! volitans discordia pacem
Perturbat. Quod homo credit habere, fugit.
De iusto movet iniustum; se fortiter ultus
Fortius opprimitur, turpius inde cadit.[12]
Virgo Dei mater miseros averte tumultus,
Et nobis pacem perpetuare stude.

1 See also *DTE,* Prologue.105-10, 3.689-92.
2 Read '*habile*' with MS for Wright's '*erile*'. See Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars Versificatoria,* 2.8, for a similar description of elegy.
3 John again explains and excuses the fact that he is using distichs, or couplets, rather than hexameters, the usual classical metre for epic poetry.
4 Phaedrus, *Fab.*1.16.10.
5 '*bella movere,*' Ovid, *Am.,* 2.12.21.

Book 3

The third book begins with an invocation made to the Prime Mover

<47> I loathe the horrible battles of which I write, just as a tearful old woman hates the funeral obsequies which she sings. That is why my Muse limps, and why my song does not proceed smoothly on six feet (hexameters) on its extended course. My faltering elegiacs bow to the honour of the Cross, with head thrust forward and stumbling feet.

Louis sets about making his kingdom submit to peace, and then mobilising wars against the leaders of the Assyrians. The differences between the kings will lie dormant as peace takes its turn, under the leader of the French carrying the banners of the Cross.

First, however, I lament the catalogue of fall-out from your wars, the Church's cries of pain, the deaths and devastation. Prime mover, regard [my work] with favour, lest these verses falter disjointedly. You are steadfast and cause all movement, you bring life and nurture it, you who weave the original matter of things, and effortlessly intertwine both the class comprising the [different] species, and the species making up the class. May you, O God, breathe into my soul, filling me with strength. Fount, pour your moisture from heaven into me, you who draw out the visible body from the basic matter, the world, finished and miraculously put in place. Divine wisdom, you surround heavy with light matter, and bind together what lies between by a swifter method. Everything was truly created by you from nothing. Under your control, all of us things who have been created are composed from the two, mind and earth.

<48> Rule me as I write, and as I sing of kings and royal wars. I shall be safe with you, the peace-maker, as leader. Behold the state of the world. Discord hovers, disrupting the peace, and what man thinks he holds safe slips away. An injustice moves him away from justice, and avenging himself bravely he is opposed with greater bravery and the greater is the disgrace of his fall. O Virgin, mother of God, turn aside this heart-rending turmoil, and direct your energy to giving us lasting peace. Alas! How

6 '*Motor prime*' / 'prime mover.' The concept of Aristotle and Averroes, developed in commentaries on the Aristotle's *Physics* in Paris during the 1230s and 1240s. See Bacon, *Questiones super Libros octo Physicorum,* 427-28, and Donati (2015).

7 Lines 13-26 are leonines.

8 Lines 18-19 reflect the Prologue of Peter of Blois' *Tractatus de Sacrosanctis Venerabilis Sacramenti.*

9 *'(h)yle*, from Aristotle's 'υλη,' means 'matter' in the existential sense, see, e.g. Augustine, *De natura boni contra Manichaeo,* 18, and philosphical works contemporary with John.

10 John uses the neuter, '*cuncta*' meaning that in this respect man is simply part of the universe of things created.

11 Note John's playful use of '*rege,*' '*reges*' and '*regia.*' Rubric in right margin, '*Sequitur post invocationem de causa discordie pace negate.*'

12 A reference to Hugh's brave defence of what he believed to be right.

Heu, heu, quam parvo fugiunt in tempore mortis,
Aurum, terra, fretum, purpura, gemma, merum.
Propositi pars una fuit sociare vetusta [83v]
Gestis gesta novis sub brevitate nova.
Multi glorificos, heu! demeruere triumphos,
Quos torquet cupidos insatiata sitis.
Vidit Alexander habitante Diogene cuppam
Ventis oppositam, versiculosque suos,
'Cur maiore larem spatio pretioque pararem?
Protegit a Borea me quia cuppa mea.'
Vidit et invidit que nondum cuncta teneret[13]
Et quod sufficeret concava cuppa viro.
Est decies felix qui non aliena requirit,
Nec tenet iniuste, nec dare danda negat.
Qui tantum terram sapiunt, caligine tecta[14]
Tempore iudicii terra vorabit eos.
In terra populi viventis iustus habebit
Gaudia, qui proprio vivit, amatque Deum.
Diversi diversa volunt,[15] petit hic quia pacem,
Hic bellum; rixas iste, sed ille iocos.
Flumen anas, frondes philomena, domum canis, agnus
Ubera, rana lutum, celica iustus amat.
Vix princeps moritur bene; bullitum bibit aurum
Crassus, Alexander mixta venena mero.[16]
Eneas fluvio periit, servilibus hastis
Romulus, invidie Iulius inde stilis.[17]
<49> Sunt octingenti, sunt quadraginta ligati
Octonis annis a genetrice Dei,
Neustria succumbit Normannis, a Boreali
Advenere feri qui regione fera.[18]
Magnus Alexander, quid habet? Quid Iulius audax?
Quid rex Ricardus corda leonis habens,
Cuius erat probitas istius causa doloris?
Et causam discat, discere siquis amat.[19]
Gloria prelustris regum terrorque Philippus
Vibravit[20] forti Gallica sceptra manu.
Rex cruce signatus munita gente Micenas[21]
Venit, ubi flammis estuat Etna suis.

13 Read '*que*' for Wright's '*quod.*' Either reading is possible, but the sense favours '*que.*' '*Vidit et invidit,*' Augustine, *Sermo* 229.2.

14 '*aram … . obscura caligine tectam,*' Cicero, *Aratea,* 194.

15 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei,* 11.25, 15-16, '*diversi diversa sentiant.*'

16 For Crassus' death, see *DTE,* 3.496. In the Aeneid, Aeneas did not die. His death by drowning and ensuing deification appear in Ovid, *Met.,* 14.566-608.

in the short period of death they slip away– gold, land, sea, [royal] purple, precious stones, wine. One part of my plan has been to associate the deeds of the past with recent achievements, in a new, compact way. Many, alas, have earned glorious triumphs, yet are still tormented in their greed by unsated desire.

Alexander observed the barrel which Diogenes had made his home as protection from the winds, and Diogenes' little verses, 'Why should I make my hearth in a bigger space and for a higher price, since my barrel has protected me from the north wind?' Alexander saw and was envious both of what he did not yet totally possess, and because a hollow barrel was enough for this man. That man is ten times blessed, who does not hanker after other people's possessions, does not hold possessions unjustly, and does not refuse to render what is due. At the time of judgment earth, shrouded in darkness, will devour those who can understand nothing but earth (land). A righteous man, who lives from what is his and loves God, will experience joy in the land of a living people. Different people want different things; since this man seeks peace, that man war. That man over there looks for quarrels, this one here seeks laughs. The duck loves the river, the nightingale loves leaves, the dog loves the house, the lamb loves udders, the frog loves mud, the righteous man loves Heavenly things.

Emperors scarcely ever have a good end. Crassus drank boiling gold, Alexander poison mixed with wine. Aeneas drowned in a river, Romulus by the spears of slaves, Julius [Caesar] by the daggers of envy.

<49> It is eight hundred and forty-eight years after Christ's birth since Neustria fell to the Normans, a wild race which came from the wild Northern region.

What has Alexander the Great, what has bold Julius [now]? What has King Richard with the heart of a lion, whose noble demeanour was the cause of this affliction? Let whoever has a love of learning learn about that causality. Philip, pre-eminent in glory and scourge of kings, brandished the royal sceptre of France in his brave hands. Having safeguarded his nation, the crusader king came to Messina where

17 The MS reads '*stiliis.*' Amend with Wright. For Romulus' death, see *DTE,* 1.404-06.

18 Lines 59-62 are clearly out of place for whatever reason.

19 John also deals briefly with the Third Crusade in *EBVM,* 4. 82-94, identifying it as a direct response to the loss of the Holy Cross to Saladin. He writes as if he intended to cover events more fully elsewhere, '*Quid referam vigilasse dolum captumque Ricardum / Et longum bellum, magne Philippe, tuum*?' Rubric in left margin, '*De peregrinatione Regis Philippi et Regis Ricardi ultra mare, et de gestis eorum, et de igne montis Etne.*'

20 Read '*Vibravit*' with MS, for Wright's '*Libravit,*' and '*munita gente*' for Wright's '*muni tagente.*' This probably refers to Richard's appointments in England and the mainland to secure his lands in his absence, Gillingham (1999), 120-24.

21 Messina.

Hic prope sulphureas succendunt flamina venas
Et clauso manes Mulciber igne domat.
Olla Theodoricum Gothorum fervida regem
Huic cuidam sancto visa cremare fuit.[22]
Baiulus accepte Crucis, expectante Philippo,
Ricardus venit; quos ibi iunxit hiems.[23]
Christi millenus centenus iungitur annus
Cum nonageno; rex ibi castra locat.
Est veterum regum crux exemplaris imago,
Ut tendant alii per probitatis iter.[24]
Urbis Ricardum pars hec tenet, illa Philippum,
Dum faveant illis tempora verna maris.
Inclita Ricardum prelustrem fama perennat
Cuius non poterit gloria longa mori.
Sed per eum monstrare libet, reliquosque potentes, [84r]
Quod tanquam somnus, est sua vita brevis.
Huius palma fuit Siculus, Ciprus altera, dromo
Tertia, carvana quarta, sequensque Iope.[25]
Occisus Siculus, Ciprus pessumdata, dromo
Mersus, carvana capta, retenta Iope.
Huic Siculi victum vetuere, sed ille per arma
Signatas acies fecit habere cibos.[26]
<50> Castrum Matagriphum construxerat ipse Micenis
Quod Siculo regi meta metusque fuit.[27]
Maior de magna Ludovicus stirpe Ricardi
Laudibus a tantis non alienus erit.[28]
Vere novo classem solvunt in litore reges,[29]
Hinc rex Ricardus, inde Philippus abit.
Divisas tenuere vias. Tholomaida[30] primo
Circumdant acies magne Philippe, tue.

22 Read '*Huic*' with MS, for Wright's '*Hic.*' '*Olla*'/ 'pot' here means crater of volcano. For this version of Theodoric's death, see Gregory I, *Dialogi*, 4.30. Theodoric the Great (454-526), king of the Germanic Ostrogoths, is generally believed to have died a natural death in Ravenna.

23 Much of John's account of the Third Crusade could have been derived from '*Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*' (*IPGRR*) or a another similar source such as 'Ambroise' or Ralph of Diceto. He does however give more detail of Philip's arrival than these sources. John does not record the fighting between the two kings' forces in Messina reported by the main sources, e.g. *IPGRR*, 2. 16. For a fuller summary of events, see Gillingham (1999), 130-143.

24 '*probitatis iter*;' '*iter*' is commonly used to mean 'crusade' or 'pilgrimage.' On '*probitas*' see *DTE*, 1, n. 44.

25 John refers to Richard's defeat of the Sicilians in Messina and imposition of terms on King Tancred (*IPGRR* 2.21, his conquest of Cyprus (*IPGRR* 2. 31-41), the sinking of a large Saracen galley in the approaches to Acre (*IPGRR* 2.42), his capture of a very rich Saracen caravan (*IPGRR* 6.3-5), and his relief and securing of Jaffa (*IPGRR* 6.15-27). He does not include the recapture of Acre amongst the summary of Richard's triumphs. The fourteenth century MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 3792,

Etna seethes in its own flames. Here nearby the breezes kindle the veins of sulphur, and Vulcan tames the souls of the departed with pent-up fire. The molten crater appeared to this particular holy man to consume Theodoric, king of the Goths, in its flames.

Bearer of the Cross which he had taken, Richard arrived, and Philip was waiting for him. The winter joined them together. It was 1190 when the king pitched his camp there. The Cross is the ideal symbol of the kings of old, enabling others to travel along the journey of nobility. One part of the city housed Richard, another Philip, until Spring weather was favourable for them to cross the sea. Glorious repute makes peerless Richard immortal, and his long lasting glory can never die. But I would like to show, using him and the rest of the potentates [as examples], that their life is short, like sleep. His first triumph was the Sicilians, the second Cyprus, the third the [Saracen] *dromon* (large ship), the fourth the baggage caravans, and the last [the recapture of] Jaffa. The Sicilians were slain, Cyprus was ruined, the galley was sunk, the caravans captured, and Jaffa taken back. The Sicilians blocked his food supply, but he made sure his crusader army had food by force of arms.

<50> He had built the fort of Matagriphum at Messina, which was a curb and source of fear to the king of Sicily. Louis, a greater [king], descended from Richard's noble stock, will be no stranger to such great praise. With the coming of Spring, the kings loosed their fleet from the shore, Richard from one location, Philip from another. They took different routes. First, Philip, your great armies laid siege to Acre. The French took the beaches by storm, and shattered the Parthian rebels, hacking

uniquely contains the following gloss to John of Garland's *Dictionnarius*, 49 on '*Alenancias*' / 'dagger,' "*gallice* 'alesnaz,' *ab Alano inventore, qui primus fuit pirata Ricardi regis, cuius gesta notantur his versibus*: '*Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cipris altera, dromo / Tertia, Cornaria quarta, suprema Jope / Repressi Siculi, Cipris pessumdata, dromos / Mersus, Cornaria capta, retenta Jope.' Alanus, ut dixi, pirata regis, dromonem Sarracenorum cepit, quem perforavit sub aqua natando.*" '*Ut dixi*' is a possible pointer to publication of an early account of the Third Crusade before John's time in Toulouse, 1229-32, where he was said to have written these glosses, Paetow *MS*, Intro., 131 & n. 8. On Alan, see lines 133-34 below. The editor has not inspected this MS, relying on Hauréau (1877), 47.

26 *IPGRR*, 2. 20-21.

27 *IPGRR*, 2. 20. Richard's temporary fort of Mategriffum. See Nicholson trans. & ed., *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 167, n. 77. *IPGRR*, 2. 16, tells how Richard repelled an attack there on Hugh IX of Lusignan.

28 Lines 95-96 assure contemporary readers in the mid 1240s that John rates Louis IX as at least the peer of Richard the Lionheart. John uses the future tense, suggesting Louis' youth.

29 Philip left on 31 March and Richard in mid-April. See Nicholson, p. 174, n. 98 on varying dates in the source material.

30 i.e.Acre.

Litora vi capiunt Franci, franguntque rebelles
Parthos dum faciunt puppibus ense statum.
In paucos iustos manus infinita movetur,
Quam reprobam iustus solus in arma vocat.
Hec est pugnandi iustissima causa fideli,
Qua laudes vivus, mortuus astra tenet.
Electi pugiles celi meruere triumphos,
Ima sed eterni carceris hostis habet.
Sanguine Parthorum dum litus inundat, et Acron[31]
Hos recipit refugos, est via facta Cruci;
Previa tela fugant lesos, gladiique sequaces.
Obsidet et victrix menia clausa phalanx.
Castris Francorum defixis, percutit omnes
Fama Palestinos, corda timore gelans.
Menia defendunt clausi, succurrere missi
Qui veniunt magna de Babilone cadunt.
Ad regem redeo Ricardum. Transtulit illi
Anglia munitas per freta longa rates.
Classem proposuit Cipri spoliare tirannus[32]
Et sponse regis insidiatus erat.[33]
Hunc rex bis vicit agitans, regnisque tirannum
Privavit propriis, perdomuitque Ciprum.
Hoc facto Ciprus reges[34] capit hospita fida
Quos, Ricarde, probos stirps tua magna parit.
Nupta Beringaria[35] fuit hic Hispanica regi
Quam rex adductam fecit adesse mari.
<51> Rex regem[36] duxit secum, Ciprumque relinquit
Custodi, ceptumque classe peregit iter.
Sponsam Ricardi suscepit honore Philippus
Contra germane federa facta sue,
Ducere quam propriam promiserat ante Ricardus,
Quam sua dissuasit Alienora parens.[37]
Dromonem pro divitiis penetravit Alanus,
Qui pirata ducis trux et acerbus erat.[38]
Gazas Parthorum varias carvana tenebat, [84v]
Sed rex collectas ense subegit opes.

31 Read '*inundat*' with Wright, for '*inundit*' in MS.

32 '*Cypri… tirannus,*' Isaac Komnenos, who had seized Cyprus in 1184 and was in rebellion against the Byzantine emperor. See Gillingham (1999), 140-54.

33 Isaac's designs against Richard's betrothed, Berengaria were foiled by Richard's timely arrival in Limassol on 6 May, *IPGRR* 2.31.

34 Richard initially installed Governors, then sold Cyprus to the Templars. They in turn sold it to Guy of Lusignan in 1192 following the collapse of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Lusignans ruled Cyprus until 1474. Guy was the younger brother of Hugh IX de Lusignan. He had settled in the Holy

their way to setting up a bridgehead on the ships themselves. A huge force was unleashed on a few righteous men, a reprehensible mob which only a righteous man challenges to fight. For a believer, this is the most just cause to fight, through which he wins praise if he lives, Heaven if he dies. The chosen guardians of Heaven have deserved their triumphs, but the enemy occupies the depths of an eternal prison. While the shore was awash with the blood of the Parthians, and Acre received them in retreat, a way was forged for the Cross. First missiles, followed up by swords, inflicted wounds and routed them. The victorious army surrounded the walls and besieged the city. Once the French had established their camp, their reputation reached all the people of Palestine, and froze their hearts with fear. The besieged defended their battlements, and those who had been sent from mighty Babylon to help fell in battle.

I return to King Richard. England sent him well-supplied ships on the long sea journey. The tyrant of Cyprus planned to plunder his fleet, and lay in wait for the king's betrothed. The king drove him back, twice defeating him, stripped the tyrant of his lands, and subdued Cyprus. After this, Cyprus was a Christian host to noble kings born of your great stock, Richard. Here the Spanish Berengaria married King Richard, whom he had brought by sea to join him. The king took the king [of Cyprus] with him, left Cyprus to a governor, and completed with his fleet the journey he had begun. Philip received with due dignity the woman whom Richard had married contrary to his formal commitment to marry Philip's own sister. Richard had earlier promised to marry her, but he was dissuaded by his mother Eleanor.

Alan holed the *dromon* for the sake of the riches [it carried]. He was the king's tough and ferocious sea-dog. The caravan was bearing various treasures of the Parthians, and the king subdued their whole force by the sword. The Parthian armies attacked Jaffa. Richard's right arm fortified it, and he held the shore as an

Land and married Sibylla, sister of King Baldwin IV, becoming king of Jerusalem in 1186. John's compliment to the Lusignans as Richard's kinsmen is further evidence of a possible link between himself and the Lusignan family in France.

35 Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre, had been brought to Richard in Messina by his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine. She sailed ahead, becoming separated from Richard's main fleet. For Eleanor's role, see Park (2016).

36 i.e. Isaac Komnenos, who was taken from Cyprus by Richard and deposited with the Hospitallers at the castle of Margat in Lebanon. He was imprisoned until released as a condition of Richard's own release from captivity in February 1194.

37 Richard was still betrothed to Alice, Philip's sister. See Gillingham (1999), 142 & n. 5.

38 See lines 87-90 and n. 25 above for John's speculative etymology. *IPGRR* 2.42 covers the incident of the *dromon*. Alan is not mentioned by name, and the sailors who dived under the ship (more plausibly) tied its rudder. *CM,* 2.23 again does not specify Alan but has the underwater holing version. I am indebted to Stephen Bennett for identifying him almost certainly as Alan Trenchemer, captain of Richard's royal *esnecca* / fast warship. John's reference shows he was well-known and that this feat was familiar to his readers. See Rose (2013), 43-45.

Parthica signa Iopem invadunt;[39] dextra Ricardi
Hanc tegit et litus in statione tenet.
Quam prius accepit, defendit; et huic Saladinus
Magnum pro magno munere misit equum.
Ad gentem propriam famulum tulit efferus unum,
Sic ipsum regem proripuisset equus.[40]
Quando Semiramios campestri marte tyrannos
Confecit, tantos fecit adesse metus
Quod post facta ducis reducem timuere subacta
Morte venire ducem, seque subesse duci.[41]
Est a rege dies Francorum fixa Ricardo[42]
Urbis ad insultus, et favet ille libens.
Convocat ergo suos, alios pretio trahit. Illi[43]
Omnibus ingeniis menia summa petunt.
Larga manus victrix mentes irretit avaras,
Excitat et timidas, vivificatque pigras.
Pictavus, Andegavus, Normannus et Anglicus instant,
Vasco, Uvallensis, Cornubieque globus.
Implentur fossata solo, dat murus hiatum,
Fitque Machometi victima clausa cohors.
Rex postquam fregit muros Tholomaïdis, intrans
Austricus hanc princeps signa priora locat.
Indignans victor sua posteriora locari
Austrica vexilla iussit in antra iaci.[44]
<52> Sed dicunt aliter alii quod castra removit
Ipse ducis castris ad loca grata suis.[45]
Istud origo mali fuerat, factumque Philippo
Displicuit, fuerat hic quia summus ibi.[46]
Toxica qui fingunt alii, mendacia fingunt,
Laudis enim cupidi. Discrepuere duces,[47]
Nam grossi cunei remanere foramine parvo
Non possunt per quos rimula parva crepit.[48]
Reddita Crux esset, Iudeaque tota subacta,
Sed procerum voluit quilibet esse prior.[49]
Gaudia sunt parta Parthis, elegia mestis

39 *IPGRR* 6.13-27. Saladin attacked Jaffa on 26 July 1192. Richard finally left it on 9 September.

40 End sentence at '*equus*,' with sense. For this story see *IPGRR* 6.22, and Nicholson's translation, p. 364, n. 67. The *Itinerarium* treats this as a genuine gift, whereas John has adopted the version in *Eracles,* 140, where it is presented as a trick. It was Saphadin (al-Âdil Sâif al-Dîn), not Saladin, who sent the horse. See also Tolan (2008), 88.

41 Richard became a 'bogey-man' figure for future generations of Muslims, *Eracles,* 141, Joinville, 558.

42 After a digression on Richard's achievements, John returns to the siege of Acre. For fuller accounts see Gillingham (1999), 155-71, Hosler (2018) *passim*.

anchorage. He defended the city he had taken possession of before. Saladin sent him a magnificent horse as a special gift. The horse, galloping untamed, carried off one of Richard's servants to its own people; the horse would have rushed off with the king himself in the same way. When he had despatched the Egyptian tyrants on the field of battle, so great were the fears he inspired that after this leader's deeds they were terrified that he would return as leader, having overcome death, and that they were in his path.

The day for Richard to assault the city was fixed by the French king, and he willingly agreed. He called together his own troops, and attracted others by offering a financial reward. They strove with all their might to reach the tops of the walls. His generous and victorious hand ensnared the greedy spirits, stirred even the fearful ones, and brought the idle ones to life. Poitevins, men of Anjou, Normans, and English pressed on, and so did the Basques, Welsh and the contingent from Cornwall. The ditches were filled with soil, the wall yielded a breach, and the legion of Muhammad was hedged in and became a sacrificial victim.

After the king breached the walls of Acre, the duke of Austria entered the city and planted his standards first. The victorious Richard, outraged that his own flag should be placed in an inferior position, ordered the Austrian standards to be thrown into the ditches. <52>But others give a different version, saying that he himself moved the duke's camp to locations which actually suited his own camp. This was the root cause of the evil, and the deed displeased Philip, because he had been the highest authority there. Others who make up poisonous stories are fabricating lies, greedy for praise.

The leaders were at odds. For thick wedges between which a tiny crack opens up cannot sit comfortably in a tight space. The Cross would have been returned, and all the Holy Land subdued, had one or other of the leaders not wanted to be pre-eminent. This brought delight to the Parthians, but a lament brought floods of fresh tears to

43 Read, with MS, '*alios pretio trahit. Illi…*.' for Wright's '*aves pretio trahit, illae.*'

44 *IPGRR* says that Philip and Richard amicably divided the city between themselves without acrimony, making no reference to Leopold VI, Duke of Austria. This story appears in Richard of Devizes, 46-47, and others. See Gillingham (1999), 224-26.

45 '*loca grata*,' Ovid, *Tristia,* 1.1.15.

46 John seems to be saying that Philip was displeased that Richard expelled Leopold without his agreement. He explicitly treats Leopold's subsequent imprisonment of Richard as revenge for this episode, and a direct cause of Richard's energies being diverted away from the Holy Land because of the intensification of his differences with Philip.

47 Cp. *EBVM,* 4.89-92. '*Urbe quidem capta, quam rumor clamitat Acron, / Perdomitaque Iope, discrepuere duces.*'

48 Read '*crepit*' for Wright's '*crepat.*' The MS could have either reading.

49 See Gillingham (1999), 253, and n. 116, for the contemporary idea that Leopold's imprisonment of Richard was the reason for the failure to liberate the Holy Land.

Christicolis lacrimas fudit in ora novas.
Ricardi reditu dux Austricus undique ponit
Insidias; tantus non latitare potest.
Rex igitur capitur et venditur.[50] Ille redemptus
Rothomagum veniens altera bella movet.[51]
Extendit metas bellis, contraque Philippum
Floret sub tanto Neustria clara duce.
A Bruto dicti Britones timuere Ricardum,
Qui velut Arthuro colla subacta dabunt,[52]
Scilicet Arthuro qui straverat agmina Rome,
Galvani gladio consilioque probi.
Sunt ex Angligenis concives etheris alti
Et terre domini magnanimique duces.
Concedo sanctos Britonum de gente fuisse [85r]
Multos, sed plures discrepuere Deo.[53]
Extremo regi Britonum vox celica iussit
Quod non impeteret Anglica regna magis.[54]
Nomine Cathualadrus Romanam venit ad urbem
In qua felici fine sepultus erat.[55]
Dum quidam Bavius de Bruto carmina ructat,[56]
Detrahit Angligenis. Cur? Timet, odit eos.[57]
Non minus in triviis sunt gesta canenda Ricardi
In cuius radiat morte cometa rubens.[58]
<53> Anglia, quem calicum thesauris tota[59] sacrorum
Ante redemit eum, perdere morte dolet.
Centum mille dedit marchas et mille Ricardus
Sex decies; redimi mortuus ere nequit.
Mirus thesaurus inventus in arce Caluchi[60]
Hunc domat, ex auro cultor, aratra, boves.[61]
Hunc dum thesaurum rex exigit, et breve castrum
Obsidet, et turmas in statione locat,

50 For the capture, imprisonment and ransoming of Richard, see *IPGRR* 6.37. Richard was captured and imprisoned by Leopold VI in Vienna on 20 December 1192, transferred to the custody of Emperor Henry VI, and released on 4 February 1194.

51 Richard landed on 13 March 1194. He lost no time in mopping up pockets of resistance in England and invading France in May. For details of Richard's campaigns, see Gillingham (1999), 283-320.

52 Arthur, Duke of Brittany, was Richard's nephew and, until Richard was on his deathbed, his heir. After Richard's death, Brittany declared for Arthur, who had declared allegiance to Philip, rather than to John, the new king. For King Arthur's conquest of the Roman armies in Gaul, to referred to here, see GM, 9.250-305.

53 Read '*multos*' with MS, for Wright's '*multorum.*'

54 GM, 11.563, '*vox angelica.*' GM 11.563-586 covers Caduallo's visit to Pope Sergius and death in Rome, reportedly in 689 CE.

55 Read '*felici*' with MS for Wright's '*felice.*'

the faces of the grieving Christians. On Richard's return the duke of Austria laid traps everywhere. So great a man cannot hide. The king was therefore captured and put up for sale. He was ransomed, and landing at Sandwich he began other wars. He extended his borders through wars, and under such a great leader noble Normandy thrived against Philip.

The Bretons, named after Brutus, were fearful of Richard, they who will offer their necks in subjection as if to Arthur—that is to say the Arthur who had slaughtered the legions of Rome, with the help of the sword and counsel of noble Gawain.

There are denizens of Heaven above, as well as lords and the mighty leaders on earth, who are of English stock. I recognise that there have been many saints of British race, but there are more Britons who have been in dispute with God. The voice of Heaven commanded the last king of the Britons not to make further attacks on the realms of England. His name was Caduallo, and he came to the city of Rome where he was buried in a happy end [to his life]. So long as some Bavius belches out his poems about Brutus, he is undermining the English. Why? He fears and loathes them.

Richard's deeds deserve no less to be sung of at the crossroads, at whose death a ruddy comet appeared. <53> The whole of England grieved the loss of Richard at his death, having ransomed him with the treasure of its sacred plate. Richard gave one hundred and sixty thousand marks, but a dead man cannot be bought back with money. It was the amazing treasure found in the fortress of Chalus which laid him low, a farmer, ploughs and cattle made out of gold. While the king was pursuing this treasure, and besieging the small castle, and putting his troops in place, alas! What a

56 Bavius, a proverbially bad poet, lampooned in Vergil's *Ecl.* 3.90-91. John's contemporary target is probably Layamon, an English priest, whose *Brut* (*c.* 1215) is a Middle English account of Brutus of Troy's mythical journey to Britain based on Wace's *Chanson de Brut.* See also Alain de Lille, *De Planctu,* 9.32, *Carmina dat Bavius, Musa Maronis hebet.*' John's language derides Layamon's choice of the English language.

57 Horace, *Serm.*, 2.1.23 '*Cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit.*'

58 Vergil *Aen,* 10.272-73, '*… .si quando nocte cometae / Sanguinei lugubre rubent,..*'. I have not been able to find other references to astronomical phenomena at Richard's death. See however *Philippide,*12.489, where a comet marks Philip II's.

59 The scribe has deleted '*suorum.*'

60 The château of Châlus-Chabrol, Haute-Vienne.

61 Various versions of the 'hidden treasure,' allegedly unearthed by a farmer and given to his lord, appear in, e.g. William le Breton, *Philippide,* 5.496-99 & *Gesta,* 98, RH., 4.82. Neither Ralph of Coggeshall nor the *Chronica Maiora* mentions it. For a full survey of the evidence and a different slant, see Gillingham (1979), who argues that Richard's motives were political, aimed at punishing disloyal vassals.

Heu, facinus! proprius miles Basilius illum[62]
Telo consequitur visus ab arce procul.
Arce tamen capta, moriens sua regna Iohanni
Tradidit, at felix non dedit omen ei.
Anglorum regno contentus, cetera liquit[63]
Gentis fraude levis, magne Philippe, tibi.
Fratrem si fratris audacia fausta beasset
Non sua terra dolis apocopanda foret.[64]
Inclitus at miles fuerat; Mirabel probat illud,
Regis ubi mater Alienora fuit.
Illic Arthurus aviam circumdedit, et rex
Circumdans illum premia solvit ei.[65]
Mons Albanus eum tremuit, quia Vascone multo[66]
Hic capto vinculis fortia colla dedit.
Evertit nemora variis Hibernica bellis,[67]
Ad Stigis introitus perniciique lacus
Purgant ut dicunt hic purgatoria vivos,[68]
Si sint constanti pectora fixa fide.
Viribus Ecclesie Romane fortia bella
Submisit pedibus precipitata suis.
Effectus laïcus fuit hoc[69] in tempore doctor
Oxonie; viguit sensibus ipse tamen.
Omni litterula privatus scivit; et ivit
Ut laïcus, sero vir Plato, mane rudis.
Hic de Londoniis fuerat, dictusque Iohannes,[70]
Philosophos iuveni legerat ante mihi.
De Longo Campo florebat quando Iohannes,[71]
Cuius non debet gloria longa mori,
<54> Predixit populo, prefatus bella futura.
Discipulis qui dedit hec documenta suis:
Aëre surgentes tenues aliquando vapores
Frigore constrictam constituere nivem.
Aëre largato per Phebi spicula grando
Turget, sic pluvie gutta gelata cadit.

62 On the name of Richard's killer John follows *CM*, 2.451. Different MSS of *Philippide*, 5.577 have '*Dudo*' and '*Guido*,' which Delaborde amends to '*Gurdo*,' to follow RH, 4. 82-83. For '*heu facinus!*' cp. Lucan 8.604, at the death of Pompey.

63 The '*n*' in '*linquit*' is marked as an error in the text. Read '*liquit*' with Wright.

64 '*Apocopanda;*' non -classical form, from the grammatical term '*apocope*,' dropping a letter at the end of a word. '*Gentis levis*' is probably a reference to the fickle Poitevin nobles, whose defection helped Philip capture Normandy (1204), Anjou and Poitou.

65 John captured Mirebeau in Poitou in 1202 from his nephew Arthur, who was supported by Philip as legitimate ruler of the Angevin territories in France. See n. 52 above.

66 Montauban, occupied by rebellious Gascon vassals, was besieged and captured by John in July / August 1206.

67 John's short but successful Irish expedition was in 1210. See Church (2015), 180-84 for an account of it.

crime! His own knight Basil, whom he had observed, shot him with a bolt from the fortress at a distance. Having captured the fortress, Richard bequeathed his kingdom to John, but did not pass on a lucky prospect.

Satisfied with the kingdom of the English, John left the rest to you mighty Philip, through the deceit of a fickle nation. If he had been blessed with his brother's good luck and bravery, his lands would not have been lopped off by trickery. Yet he had been a distinguished soldier, and the proof lies in Mirebeau, where Eleanor, the king's mother was staying. Arthur cast a tight cordon around it, but the king surrounded him in turn and took away his prize. Montaubon was terrified by him, when he captured it with many Gascons, and subjected their brave necks to chains. He devastated the groves of Ireland in various wars at the entrance to the Stygian realms and the lakes of destruction. Here, they say, Purgatory cleanses people while they are still alive, so long as their hearts are steadfast in firm belief. Propelled by his own footsteps, John surrendered his hard fought wars to the forces of the Roman Church.

There was a layman around this time who had become a doctor at Oxford, who was nevertheless a man of highly developed intelligence, and was knowledgeable though he had no access to the liberal arts. As a layman, he ended up later in his life as a veritable Plato, though at the dawn of his career he had been an unsophisticated man. He had been in London, and was called John; he had read the philosophers to me when I was a young man. Longchamp was in his prime when John—whose long-lasting glory should not pass away—<54> made predictions to the people, foretelling future wars.

He gave the following proofs to his pupils. Thin vapours which sometimes rise from the air formed snow when they are forced together by the cold. When the air expands through Phoebus' rays, the hailstones swell, and thus fall as frozen raindrops. If the

68 St. Patrick's Purgatory was and is a place of pilgrimage on Lough Derg, where according to legend St. Patrick was able to give a glimpse of hell to the pious souls of the living. According to Le Goff (1981), 193-201 & n. 20, 397-8, this was the first specific geographical designation of purgatory.

69 Read '*hoc*' with Paetow, for '*hic*' in MS and Wright.

70 On John of London, see Introduction, 20-21. See also Wright's foreword, v-vi, and Paetow, *MS*, Intro. pp. 83-85.

71 Lines 229-30 in this edition were clearly wrongly located by the scribe in the MS, and hence in Wright's edition. Immediately following the present lines 283-84 in a misplaced block of two distichs (4 lines), they appear in the MS after what is now line 294 in the present edition. In this original position, the identity of *Iohannes* and the relevance of *De Longo Campo* are obscure. There is no identifiable *Iohannes* Longchamp, and the sentence has no relevance in its original context. John of Garland refers elsewhere to himself as *Iohannes* in the third person, but that makes no sense here.

Aërias nubes si sol dissolvit et illas [85v]
Inpellit ventus, fit pluvialis aqua.
Nubibus elisis inflammant ethera venti,
Sic aliquando cadens fulmen ad ima venit.
E tellure cava cupiens erumpere ventus
Hanc movet, et motu menia sepe ruunt.
Solis ab opposito se curvat discolor Iris,
Oceanumque bibens nubibus haurit aquas.
Phebus pallescit, obiecto corpore lune,
Terre lunares inficit umbra genas.
Frigidus et siccus ventus vapor est resolutus
Ex terris et aquis; sic Avicenna canit.[72]
Accidit alterius forme commixtio ventis
Quam casus confert ex regione sua.[73]
Coram Pandulpho legato regna Iohannes[74]
Pape submisit, et diadema suum.[75]
Regna per Ecclesiam tenuit, per bella, per equor,[76]
Per que defecit digna perire manus.[77]
Septenis annis tamen interdicta relicta
Porticus Ecclesie, plurima damna tulit.[78]
Causa fuit Stephanus primas.[79] Cessante procella,[80]
Ecclesie tandem pax datur, immo brevis.
Nam Ludovicus adest pro libertate tenenda
Baronum; surgit pugna, rapina, dolor.
Sed rex occurrit, armata plebe favente,
Et perit in causa baiulus ipse Crucis.[81]
Quidam decipiunt regem, quidam Ludovicum,
Sed finem neutra pars capit inde bonum.

Relocated, these lines place a time frame on John of London's relatively advanced years as a master. They suggest that John of London was predicting future wars when 'Longchamp' was in his prime. This could be William Longchamp, Chancellor of England, 1189-91. But a more credible candidate is Master Radulphus de Longo Campo (d.o.b. 1153-60), a devotee of Alan of Lille, with French and English connections, scientific interests and connections in Languedoc, J. Sulowski ed., *In Anticlaudianum Alani Commentum,* vi-xii (Warsaw, 1972). Line 223 says that *Johannes* was a doctor at Oxford '*hoc in tempore.*' Preceding and following lines refer to King John's submission to the pope (1213).

72 Avicenna's (*c.* 980-1037) doctrines were proscribed in Paris in 1210. Many of his works had been translated into Latin in Toledo in the twelfth century. For his philosophy, see Marenbon, 103-14.

73 Read '*sua*' with MS, rather than Wright's '*ista.*' John is saying that the weather the wind brings depends on the combination of land and sea over which they have passed.

sun breaks up these clouds full of air, and the wind drives them, rainwater is created. By shattering the clouds, the winds set the air alight, and thus sometimes lightning crashes to the earth below. The wind shakes the hollow earth, longing to burst out, and often the walls shake through the quaking. The multicoloured rainbow makes its arc opposite the sun, and drinking the water drains the Ocean from the clouds. Phoebus goes pale when the body of the moon stands in his way, and the shadow of the earth darkens the cheeks of the moon. The cold and dry wind is the vapour again released from the land and sea, Avicenna writes. A combination of each affects the winds which chance bestows, depending on the particular area from which the wind is blowing.

[King] John surrendered his realms and his crown to the pope before the legate Pandolf. He held on to his realms by means of the Church, though they deserved to be destroyed by wars on land and sea, in which his supporters fell short. Yet his abandonment and interdiction from the doors of the Church for seven years caused him much damage. The archbishop Stephen was the reason. There was a lull in the storm, and at last the peace of the Church was granted, albeit short-lived. For Louis arrived, to uphold the liberty of the barons. Fighting, pillage and grief were unleashed. But the king came to meet him, with the armed populace on his side, and he died in his mission as a crusader. Some deceived the king, some Louis, but neither side secured a good outcome from their deception.

74 Rubric in left margin, '*De interdicto Angliae, et discordia baronum.*' Line 251 picks up the narrative from line 222.

75 John accepted papal terms before the legate Pandolf in May 1213, and placed his lands under the protection of the pope.

76 '*per bella, per aequora,*' Lucan, 3.24. The reference to to 'battles and the sea' probably relates to Prince Louis' defeats at Lincoln and Sandwich shortly after John's death and the 'army'/ '*manus*' is Louis', which lost support at John's death. But these lines are difficult to interpret and may be corrupt.

77 '*militia fuerat digna perire sua,*' Ovid, *Am,* 2.14.6. See also line 288.

78 John of Garland is counting seven years from King John's victory at Mirebeau (*DTE,* 3.211) to his excommunication in 1209, during which he lost the Angevin lands in France except for Aquitaine.

79 Stephen Langton, created archbishop of Canterbury in 1207 by Innocent III and resisted as candidate for the post by John.

80 Rubric in left margin, '*De adventu Ludowici in Angliam.*' The dissident barons invited Philip II's eldest son, Louis, to England to assume the crown. He invaded in 1216 and occupied more than half the country. Some of his support wavered when King John died and the nine-year-old Henry III was crowned. As recounted by John, Louis was defeated at the battle of Lincoln through the decisive leadership of William Marshal. His backing in England dwindled rapidly, and he withdrew ignominiously in 1217. On Prince Louis generally, see Hanley (2016). Her note on sources and further reading, pp. 257-61, is most helpful.

81 King John had taken the Cross in 1216, and the papal legate Guala gave the campaign against Louis crusade status, as defence of lands under papal protection. A popular poem in Latin hexameters survives showing strong popular support for the infant king, Henry III ; '*regemque novellum /*

<55>Heu, dolus! Hic largus, hic fortis,[82] tincta veneno
Pessica consumit, et lue ventris obit.[83]
Sicut de lino tenduntur fila reducto,
Casibus ex variis ethica dicta traho.
Hinc gravis emergit elegia. Nam gladiorum
Officium peragunt toxica mixta cibis.
Sunt ducibus metuenda duo; suggestio prava,
Virus et occultum; mors in utroque latet.
Occidit virus multos, suggestio plures,
Inde per effectus est ea peior eo.
Post mortem regis baronum maxima strages
Subsequitur, domina predominante proba.[84]
Femina prevalidam Nicolam Lincolnia dicit.[85]
Stat pro rege suo, vi, probitate, fide.
Illam iuverunt regales, Falco,[86] comesque
Williermus,[87] cuius est veneranda fides,
Hic quia Londonias obsedit, fecit et hostes
Viribus hinc regni fortis abire suos.
Eius scutiferum movet Anglos undique plaustrum,[88]
Tironesque probos mensa rotunda[89] probat.
Cetera sed taceo, qua condicione recessit[90]
Gallicus hinc heres, plebs quia novit eam.
Magnanimum quidam Ludovicum quando relinqunt
Contra promissum claudicat egra manus.
Profuit adventus Ludovici, ne violaret [86r]
Regia vis proceres, exilioque daret.
Patri succedens Henricus vendicat armis
Illa manu forti que Ludovicus habet.
Hic Ludovicus erat Ludovici filius, armis
Cuius succubuit Avinionis honor.[91]

Ambierunt.' It recounts how '*candida signa cruces juvenum praestantia pingunt / Pectora*,' Wright (1839), 19-27. For a full account of the war and the battle of Lincoln see Carpenter (1990), 13-49, McGlynn (2011), Hanley (2016), 156-65. John recognises (line 261) that it was noteworthy for wavering support for both parties by nobles primarily interested in securing or acquiring estates.

82 John is notably complimentary to King John here.

83 King John died, probably of dysentery *c.* 19 October, 1216. Wendover, *CM*, 2.668, agrees that John ate peaches, but blames his sickness on excess or on the effects of alcohol.

84 The singling out of Falkes and Marshal, the reference back to '*probitate*' in line 264, and the use of '*domina*' suggest that this refers to Nicolaa. Even without this reference, John gives her a more prominent role than other sources.

85 Line 277, to restore metre read '*prevalidam*' for '*prevalida*' in MS and Wright. Lines 277-78 appear in the MS and in Wright immediately after line 264 of the present edition, out of time sequence and

<55> But the infamy! He was a generous and brave man, but he ate poisoned peaches and he died through the sickness in his stomach. Just as threads are drawn from unravelled yarn, I draw morals from the various consequences. From here pours forth my elegy, for poisons mixed with food are fulfilling the role of swords. There are two things that leaders should fear, wicked accusations and hidden poison. Death lurks in both. Poison kills many, and accusation more, and through its consequences it is worse than poison.

After the death of the king, there was a major cull of the barons, with a lady in the lead. This woman of Lincoln went by the name of Nicolaa, most resolute of them all. She mades a stand for the king, through her strength, her nobility and her faith. The king's supporters, Fawkes and Count William, assisted her. His [William Marshal's] loyalty was notable, because he had laid siege to London, and forced his enemies to go away from here through the power of a strong kingdom. William's cart, carrying his shield, inspired the English everywhere. And his round table tournaments tested the noble squires.

But I say nothing of the condition on which the heir to France withdrew from England, because the people knew it. When certain people abandoned the great Louis contrary to their promise, his sickly army limped away. The arrival of Louis was helpful, because it prevented the king's power from doing violence to the magnates, and driving them into exile. Henry succeeded his father, and made an armed attack with a strong force on what Louis held. This Louis [IX] was son of that Louis, to whose arms the pride of Avignon surrendered.

without meaning. They have been relocated to make good sense. The reference is to Nicholaa de la Haye, redoubtable castellan of Lincoln Castle, who defended it on behalf of the infant Henry III against the French, and earlier for Richard against John, RD, 31. See Wilkinson (2007), 13-26, for further information on Nicholaa. John is highlighting the fact that '*Nicolam*' is an anagram of '*Lincolnia*,' with the '*m*' of '*Nicolam*' equating to the '*ln*' of '*Lincolnia*' in medieval script. Wright almost spotted the word-play, p. 154, 'The Normans appear not to have been able to pronounce the name Lincoln, and they call it Nichol.'

86 Falkes de Bréauté.

87 William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke

88 See n. 85 above. Lines 283-84 have been moved from their clearly incorrect place in the MS and in Wright's edition. They manifestly refer to William Marshal's prowess as a knight and convenor of tournaments.

89 '*Mensa rotunda*' / 'round table' was a form of group combat in tournaments. *See CM*, 5. 318-19. Matthew Paris uses this same phrase, more usually '*tabula rotunda,*' to describe a notorious event in 1252.

90 Rubric in left margin, '*De fuga Ludovici.*' Louis received a payment and promised to ask his father to return the Angevin lands in France to Henry. In fact after Philip's death in 1223, Louis VIII seized Poitou and Gascony in 1224, and Henry hastily sent an army which recovered only Gascony in 1225.

91 Lines 283-84 and 229-30 followed line 294 in that order in MS, followed by Wright. See nn. 71 and 85. Louis VIII took Avignon after a siege in 1226 (see *DTE* 5.237-40)

Disce parentelam regum qui noscere queris,
Heu! Consanguinei non bene bella movent.
<56> Regis Ricardi magni nupsere sorores
Tres tribus, et gaudent triplice prole sua.[92]
Regi Castelle datur hec, comitique Tholose
Altera, Saxonie tertia nupta duci.[93]
Rex genuit Blancam, comitem comes inde Remundus,
Et dux Othonem cui data Roma fuit.
Otho mirificus miles, Paris ore, manuque
Hector, dispargens munera Titus erat.[94]
Stampas poscebat et Aurelianas,[95]
Quas dedit[96] ironica voce Philippus ei,
'Si probus imperii caperet Latialis habenas.'[97]
Sed dedit has illi cum probitate Deus.
Othonis causa murus circumdedit urbem[98]
Parisius; muro cessat agreste solum.
In Gallos agitat gladios obstante Philippo,
Sed multis captis hic nequit hoste capi.
Electos equites dum dissipat ense Bovinis,[99]
Et ferus irrumpit agmina, solus abit.
Post consanguineam duxit Fredericus Othonis,[100]
Que Rome fuerat imperialis honor.
Magnanimo nupsit Ludovico Blanca; parentis
Belligeri nomen filius eius habet.[101]
Brennius et frater Belinus, pectore matris
Nudato, firme federa pacis agunt.[102]
Pacificant medie generos socerosque Sabine.[103]
Sic veniat reges Blanca ligare duos.
Discordant igitur reges quos stirps ligat una,[104]
Et mentes quorum fervida pugna coquit.
Quid facitis, reges? Avertite bella rebelles

92 This reference to Richard I's pedigree would also reflect on his kinsmen, the Lusignans.

93 Matilda married Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, Eleanor married Alfonso VIII of Castile, and Joan married first William of Sicily, then Raymond V of Toulouse. Their respective offspring were the Emperor Otto IV; Blanche of Castile, wife of Louis VIII and mother of Louis IX; and Raymond VI of Toulouse.

94 A veritable paragon. John uses commonplace medieval role models, Paris for beauty, Hector for bravery and the Emperor Titus for generosity. Otto's reported prowess enhances Philip's victory at Bouvines. *IPGRR*, 2.5 applies similar classical comparisons to King Richard.

95 Read '*Aurelianas*' for '*Aurelianis*.' *Chronica Minora*, 2.109, '*Rex utique Francorum incircumspecto sermone praedixerat et invectivo et yronico quod, quando Otho foret imperator, daret ei tres suas principales civitates, scilicet, Parisius, Estampeiam et Aurelianam; unde imperator eas semper exigebat et vendicabat.*' All three cities housed mints.

96 '*dedit*' with MS, for Wright's '*cedit*.'

Whoever wishes to know, learn about the parentage of kings. Alas, it is not good for blood-relations to start wars [against each other]! <56> The three sisters of the great king Richard married three men, and rejoice in the offspring they all three have. One was given in marriage to the king of Castile, a second to the count of Toulouse, and the third married the duke of Saxony. The king begat Blanche, Count Raymond begat another Count Raymond, and the duke was the father of Otto, to whom Rome was granted. Otto was an amazing soldier, a second Paris in appearance, a Hector in arms, a Titus in distributing gifts. He demanded Paris, Étampes and Orléans, which Philip offered him in ironic vein, 'if a man of noble breeding were ever to hold the reins of the Roman empire'; but God granted the cities to Philip as part and parcel of his nobility. Because of Otto, Philip built a wall round Paris, and agricultural land lies fallow within the wall. Otto brandished his swords at the French, but Philip was blocking his way; and though many captives were taken, Philip could not be captured by the enemy. Although he routed the knightly elite with his sword at Bouvines, and ferociously broke through the lines, Otto went away alone. Afterwards Frederick married a blood-relative of Otto, who carried the nobility of the Roman imperial line. Blanche married the noble Louis, and his son had the same name as his warrior father.

Brennius and his brother Belinus made a pact of lasting peace over the bared breasts of their mother. The Sabine women made peace by standing between their fathers- and sons-in-law. In such a way let Blanche approach the task of building bonds between the two kings. For kings whom one lineage links are at odds, and frenzied

97 Read '*Si*' with MS, and sense, for Wright's '*Sic.*' Punctuation also varies from Wright's, with the sense.

98 Philip ordered fortification of the Right Bank in 1190; the wall on the Left Bank was built between 1200 and 1215. John may have witnessed its construction.

99 Lines 311-14; Philip II defeated a coalition, financed by John of England, comprising German forces under the Emperor Otto IV, with English and Flemish armies, on Sunday 27 July, 1214 at Bouvines, near Tournai. John himself led an army northwards from Poitou, but it was held by Prince Louis and never reached northern France. Philip was unhorsed but rescued by his knights. The defeat greatly weakened John, who was forced the following year to sign Magna Carta, and Otto, who lost the imperial crown to Frederick II. John reports the battle in low key, fully aware of William le Breton's lengthy coverage. See Duby (1973), 314-57, for the sources, Verbruggen (1997 trans.), 239-60, on the battle, and see Baldwin and Simons (2014) for the consequences. See also *DTE,* 2, nn.15 & 111.

100 Frederick II married Isabella, a sister of Henry III of England in 1235, *CM,* 3.323-25.

101 Louis IX, eponymous son of Louis VIII.

102 See GM, 3.1-232 for Brennius and Belinus The brothers were reconciled after a passionate plea to Brennius by their mother, '*Nudatis .. uberibus.*'

103 Livy, 1. 9-13. The Sabine women stood between the Roman and Sabine armies, and unity prevailed.

104 Rubric in right margin, '*De bello inter reges apud Sanctonas, hujusque dilatione per suas causas praecedentes.*'

In Parthos, bellis invigilate Crucis.
Per vos Ecclesia celebres agat alma triumphas,[105]
Sicut per Karolum fecerat ante probum.[106]
Hinc prope Sanctonica rex est Henricus in urbe,[107]
Gallorum proceres hinc Talaburgis habet.[108]
<57> Hiis campis quondam tulerant hastilia frondes[109]
Horum quos Karolus misit in arma probos.
Agolandus in hiis quando victricia campis
Effugit Karoli signa sequentis eum.
Quem Pampilonie devictis mille peremit [86v]
Milibus, et Domino debita vota tulit.[110]
Anglia cui servit et cui vestigia flectit
Vasco levis, paucos convocat, arva petit.
Exponit[111] pugnam mediam, sed flumen abhorret
Gallicus, et biduo pignora pacta labant.[112]
Anticipant tempore raptorum vota propinquas
Dum superant undas et nova lucra petunt.[113]
Federa rumpuntur sed, nolo dicere, bella
In cena[114] fiunt; cetera ferre pudet.
Vix locus est armis illic, vix Anglicus[115] ensem
Vix vexilla capit, vix sibi frenat equos.[116]
Prelia dum propter aliud describere conor,
Ex hiis excessus extraho, damna, nephas.
Pugna fit in festo, sibi[117] quod solemne quot annis
Magdalena petit pace Maria coli.[118]
Sunt sacra festa precum, sunt laudis, suntque quietis,
Letitie, venie[119] largiflueque manus.
Hec bona cuncta miser perdit quicumque labore
Se misero vexat et sine fine gravat.
Si labor incumbens sit honestus, sit moderatus,

105 Read '*alma*' for Wright's '*arma,*' with MS.
106 Another invocation of Charlemagne as a glorious forebear.
107 Saintes.
108 Read '*Talaburgis,*' 'Taillebourg,' not, With Wright, '*Calaburgis,*' though he notes (p. 155), '*Calaburgis* should be *Talaburgis.*' Lines 329-30 briefly resume the narrative of the Saintonge War from *DTE*, 2.856, before John returns to his historical digression. Henry's campaign resumes at line 338.
109 Wright, p. 155, quotes this episode at length from Pseudo-Turpin. The spears of Charlemagne's soldiers destined for martyrdom turned into living trees in a battle against Agolandus, king of the Moors, located between Taillebourg and Saintes, Ps-T,15-16.
110 Following a truce, Agolandus and Charlemagne engaged in limited combat outside Pamplona. When the numbers reached one thousand on each side, and Agolandus continued to be defeated, he promised to be baptized, but subsequently reneged. He was then killed in all-out battle, Ps-T, 21-25.
111 Read '*exponit*' for '*exposcit*' in MS and Wright, and '*abhorret*' with Wright, for '*abhortet*' in MS. '*Pugnam mediam*'= 'battle line.'

battle addles their brains. What are you doing, kings? Turn your war-making to the resurgent Parthians, focus on the wars of the Cross. Through your agency let the gentle Church achieve famous victories in battle, as it had achieved before through noble Charlemagne.

On one side Henry is nearby in the city of Saintes, and on the other Taillebourg accommodates the French nobles.

<57> On these plains once the spears of those noble men whom Charlemagne had put in the field had sprouted leaves, when on these plains Agolandus escaped the victorious troops of Charlemagne who was pursuing him. A thousand men crushed him at Pamplona, with his own thousand annihilated, and he brought to the Lord the prayers that he owed.

England, to which the fickle Gascons owed allegiance, and to which they made their way, mustered its few men, sought out level fields and exposed its battle line. The French were apprehensive of the river, and the peace undertakings expired within two days. Moving ahead of the pleas of the hostages who had been taken, the French crossed the eddies of the river nearby and went in search of fresh spoils. The agreement was broken, but I am reluctant to say it, wars took place during the Mass; the rest I am ashamed to narrate.

There was scarcely room for weapons; the English scarcely drew a sword or raised a standard; they scarcely bridled their horses. While I try to write about battles because of some other aspect, from these skirmishes I bring out the atrocities, the waste, and the wickedness. The battle took place on the feast day on which Mary Magdalene endeavours to be worshipped in peace every year. Feast days are sacred to prayers, to praise, to calm, to joy, to forgiveness and to generosity. Whoever in his wretchedness destroys all those good things through his wretched work angers himself and creates burdens without end. If the work bearing down on a man is

112 An overnight truce was negotiated by Richard of Cornwall, when it became apparent that Hugh X de Lusignan had not delivered supporting troops. The French did not want their access to the battle field to be limited by the narrow bridge over the Charente and crossed the river before the truce expired. See *CM*, 4.209-12 for an account.

113 Read '*lucra,*' with MS, for Wright's '*lucta*'.

114 20 July was the last Sunday before the feast of St Mary Magdalene.

115 Read '*Anglicus,*' with Wright, for '*Angilicus*' in MS.

116 The English took advantage of the truce to retreat in haste to Saintes, pursued by the French.

117 Read, with the sense, '*in festo,*', for Wright's '*Pugna fit infesto.*'

118 The battle of Taillebourg took place on 21 July 1242, the eve of the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene.

119 Read '*venie*' with MS, for Wright's '*nenie*.'

Si certis horis, ille beatus erit.
Letifer[120] in bellis labor est ubi mutua strages
Prosternit populos, et populatur agros.
Virtutes pereunt civiles, cautio, iustum
Spem vigor amplectens, certaque meta modi.
Fortibus occurrunt fortes. Hinc Anglicus, inde
Gallicus, hinc Vasco, Remis et inde furens.
Christicole semper posita Cruce frontis in alto
In bellum veniunt, spe comitante fidem.
<58> Sed cupidi quidam qui postposuere latenter
Falso iustitiam iure iubente cadunt.[121]
Celum Burdegale feriunt clangore tubarum,[122]
Terrificoque sono Lingonis astra quatit.[123]
Hic pedes oppositus pediti, cum milite miles
Firmus stare cupit, cum pare quisque suo.
Non bene fit, reges; liceat mihi querere verum,
Cur estis multis vos duo causa necis?
Vos gladiis ambos decuit decernere causam
Iuris, non partes precipitare duas.
Cesaris et pape[124] placeat sedare tumultus
Ut cum pace duos federet unus amor.
Vi vel amore duos vos pacificare decebit,
Filius ut dempto supplicet ense patri.
Vos stilus hic parvus reprehendit, cartula iuste
Castigat, gracilis crimina prodit apex.
Vos tamen excusat ratio, partes quia sumunt[125]
Arma due, nullo bella iubente duce.
Heu quia bellorum tempestas horrea celi
Impedit,[126] et messes destruit ense suas.
Ingruit iniustis inferni seva procella [87r]
Reddere qui nolunt rapta sed arma movent.
Aut hoc aut simili peremit[127] popularia metu
Agmina, dum reges in sua iusta probant.
Sic in preteritis determino bella futura,
Que simili[128] fient aut graviore modo.[129]

120 Read '*letifer*' / 'fatal' with MS and sense, for Wright's '*laetifer*' / 'joyful.'
121 This couplet, 363-64, reads like another element of the 'hidden *exhortatio*'. See *DTE*, 2, n. 81.
122 Lucan, 4. 750-51.
123 Statius, Thebaid, 12.790, '*femineus quatit astra fragor.*' *Lingonae / Lingones* were the ancient inhabitants of the area around Langres, Haute Marne. Capitalise Wright's '*lingonis.*'
124 375-78 clearly refer to the pope and the emperor, in a section about Henry III and Louis IX. Here John is explicit that the son (Frederick II) must submit to the father (Innocent IV).

respectable and reasonable, and if it has regular hours, he will be blessed. The work of wars brings death, where slaughter on both sides lays low whole nations and devastates their fields. The civic virtues die, that is prudence, energy embracing hope, and the fixed limit of a mean.

Strong men clash with strong, English in one direction, French in another, the men of Gascony here and over there the fierce men of Champagne. Christians always come to war with the Cross held high in the van, with hope as companion to their faith. <58> But certain greedy men fall, who under the duress of false claims have secretly given second place to justice.

They blast the sky of Bordeaux with the blare of their trumpets, and the men of Langres shake the Heavens with their terrifying noise. Here foot-soldier faces foot-soldier, and knight wants to stand firm with knight, each with his opposite number. It does you no credit, kings; if I may be allowed to ask the truth, why are you two the cause of death to many? You should have resolved your dispute with the swords of the law, not plunged the two sides into headlong war.

May it come about that the turmoil between Caesar and the pope calms down, so that one love might link the two in a pact of peace. It will be right to make peace between the two of you, through armed force or through (mutual) love, so that son can entreat father with his sword laid down. This feeble pen rebukes you, the written page chides you, the unadorned letters of my text publish the charges.

Yet common sense provides you with an excuse, because the two sides took up arms without any leader ordering a war. Alas that the storm of wars is blocking the granaries of Heaven and destroying its harvests with the sword. The savage tempest of Hell is bearing down on the unjust, who are unwilling to hand back what they have taken, but resort to arms.

Through this or a like fear it has destroyed the armies of their peoples, while the kings argue their rights. Thus I define future wars using historical examples; they will occur in much the same way, or worse. The lines of troops confront each other

125 John waters down his condemnation of the leaders by the excuse that fighting broke out spontaneously. These lines could apply to either the Saintonge war or the imperial/papal dispute.

126 Read '*impedit*' with MS, for Wright's *'impediti'*. *For 'horrea celi'/ 'the granaries of heaven,'* see Matth. 13, 30. John means that war is damaging the Church's efforts to attract and retain the faithful.

127 Read '*peremit*' with MS, not '*pereunt*' with Wright.

128 Read '*simili*' with Wright, not '*sili*' in the MS.

129 Lines 390-400 are a general description of war. John emphasises its unchanging horror.

Occurrunt acies magno discrimine, plura
Grandine vernali tela coacta volant.
Lancea pectoribus occurrit, cuius in ictu
Milite deiecto, sella relicta vacat,
Vertitur in girum sonipes, magnoque tumultu
Prosilit, et phaleris sevior arva petit.
Frena furens mandit, et spumeus imber ab ore[130]
Defluit, et fossus sepius ense cadit.
<59> Calcaris monitu plantas attollit in auras
Et calcat domini viscera fusa sui.
Perstrinxi generale satis, speciale sequatur
Certamen. Probitas sit manifesta probi.[131]
Gallia quid valeat patet hic, quam Martia virtus
Armis non superat belli potensque globus.
Anglia cui mater fuerat, cui Gallia nutrix
Matri nutricem prefero Marte meam.[132]
Sic utriusque tamen meritis preconia iustis
Attribuo, niteant ut probitate pares.
Gallica Barrensis precedit signa Johannes;
Hostica rimando viscera querit iter.
Patrissare studet Williamum dum sibi patrem
Barrensem gladio comprobat esse suo.[133]
Dudum Ricardo fuit hic a rege secundus
Quem timuit fortem gens inimica Deo.
Iuxta Ierusalem geminorum more leonum[134]
Straverunt Arabes hii duo, morte, fuga.
Filius ergo memor patriae probitatis, in arma
Anglica prorumpit et metit ense viam.
Motus enim subitus diviserat Anglica signa,
Donec confertos[135] moverat ordo viros.
Federe confracto pacis, movet intima corda
Anglorum stimulans hos probitate dolor.
Bella tamen vulgus leve cepit, movit et ambas
Partes, Angligenis damna priora ferens.
Illos spes allata movet nec eos timor aufert
Quamvis sint pauci, sed vigor armat eos.
Precedunt valide baliste, missa sagitta
Prevolat in campum; post probus instat eques.
Henrici regis consultor magnus et audax

130 Vergil, *Aen.* 4.135, '*Stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.*' See *EBVM,* 8.509-17 for a similar graphic passage.

131 There is a hint of irony to line 402. John sets out his intention of demonstrating the valour of heroes from the aristocracy of both sides. See Introduction, 1, 25-26. for the possibility that John is singling out patrons for special mention.

in a great contest, and more missiles than the spring hail fly in a great mass. Lances wound breasts, and by the thrust a knight is unhorsed and the saddle which he left behind stands empty. The charger wheels round, and leaps forward with a great flurry, made more frenzied by his trappings, he searches for open ground. He gnashes against his bit, a shower of foam spews from his mouth, and often he falls, pierced by a sword. <59> Pricked by the spur he lifts his hooves in the air, and tramples the mangled guts of his master.

I have gone over the general issues enough; let the specific contest follow. Let the nobility of a noble man be plain to all. It is clear here what France is capable of, which military valour and a powerful army did not defeat by force of arms. I to whom England had been mother, and France my nurse, in war place my nurse ahead of my mother. However, I attribute the praises of both as follows, according to their rightful merits, so that they excel equally in nobility. Jean des Barres went ahead of the French army; carving his way by slashing through the flesh of the enemy. He strove to emulate his father, William, as he gave proof with his own sword that he was a Barres. His father was second only to King Richard, as a brave man feared by the race which is hostile to God. Near Jerusalem these two like twin lions laid low the Arabs in death, and put them to flight. The son therefore, mindful of his father's reputation, rushed against the weapons of the English, and carved a way with his sword.

This sudden onslaught had split the English ranks, until the commanders moved their packed men. The truce had been broken, and the hurt stirred the deepest emotions of the English, riling them on because of their chivalry. But the fickle crowd chose war, and stirred both sides, bringing the first casualties to the English. One side was stirred by the hope inspired in them, and fear did not hold the other side back; however few they may have been, their inner force armed them. Powerful engines of war started off the battle; and the arrows were launched first on to the battlefield, then the doughty

132 John reveals that he was born in England. See Introduction, 19-23. He declares his neutrality in lines 405-06, whilst acknowledging French military supremacy. The context leaves no doubt that '*Marte*' in the MS is correct, rather than Paetow's '*arte*.' The comparison is neat, since William des Barres fought in the English army.

133 Jean des Barres was the son of William des Barres, a Third Crusade hero, *IPGRR*, 4.10. He was captured at Saintes with six other French knights by William de Say, and subsequently exchanged, *CM*, 4.213. See also *DTE*, 3.507-10.

134 Read '*more*' with Wright, not '*morte*' in MS. The reference to lions reminds the reader that Richard was the Lionheart. This refers to the battle of Arsuf, where William des Barres fought bravely, *IPGRR*, 4.19.

135 Read '*confertos*' for '*consertos*' in MS and Wright.

Radulphus regis ductus amore preit.[136]
Claro patre satus Nicholao nomine teste
In populo victor previa scuta gerit.
<60> Lancea dum dextram munit pretenta, repulsum
Hostem precipitat, cornipedemque ferum.
Patroclum quondam sic Troie fuderat Hector [88r]
Exultans spoliis nomen habere novis.[137]
Ingreditur campum dominans Elegia, pallens
Atropos[138], indignans ira, dolorque recens.
Immemores multi quid agent in luce suprema
Mundi, tempestas quos baratralis aget,
Ad mortem se constimulant. Heu, quantus in armis
Et qualis sudor agmina densa rapit.
Ad Crucis arma tamen multos servavit in isto
Conflictu, celi gratia, velle Dei.[139]
Clarensem comitem de Claromonte[140] coartat
Ire retro dominus, dum retro nutat equus.
Flandrenses clipeis flammescunt excutiuntque
Dovorie clipeos, acephalantque viros.
Dum mens propugnat utrimque, quod optat in actum
Exilit et voto sunt rea corda suo.
Anteos[141] fortes et quos argutia ducit
Anglia producit viribus arte vigens.
Gallia quadrupedes in eos convertit et hastas
Et gladios, et eos undique mixta ferit.
Simon de Monte Forti,[142] mons fortis in hostem
Grassatur, fundit viscera, colla metit.
Rogerus Bigoth cognomine robore fundit
Turmas Francorum quas violenter agit.
Guillelmus longo nomen sortitus ab ense
Effundit longo sanguinis ense globos.[143]
Anglis occurrunt Galli, Campania stravit
Cornubios,[144] ambos mutua fata trahunt.
Hic aliquis moritur, moreretur quo Crucis hostis,
Vita tenax illi si diuturna foret.
Abbreviant magis arma brevem funebria vitam,
Dum mors occurrit et stimulata venit.

136 Ralph Fitz Nicholas, a senior advisor to Henry III, *CM*, 4.213.
137 '*nomen*'= 'reputation,' a common Ciceronian use.
138 One of the *Parcae*, or Fates.
139 '*velle*' (noun), post-classical, = 'wish, will.'
140 This obscure line appears to refer to Richard de Clare, sixth earl of Gloucester, who returned to England with Richard of Cornwall in 1242, leaving Henry in France, *CM*, 4.229. The reference to his

knights started their attack. Ralph, King Henry's great and bold counsellor, went in front because of his love for the king. As his name [Fitz] Nicholas bears witness, he was born of a distinguished father, and in victory carried his shield ahead in the crowd. <60> His outstretched lance protected his right side, and pushing back his enemy he sent him flying and his charger running wild. In the same way Hector of Troy had once vanquished Patroclus, boasting of his renown from his new spoils.

Elegia takes over and marches on to the battlefield, along with pale Atropos, seething anger and raw grief. Many, unmindful of what they should do on their last day in this world, are driven on by the infernal storm and drive each other towards death. Alas! The enormity and the nature of the frenzy that seizes their serried ranks! But the grace of Heaven, God willing, kept many in this conflict safe to fight for the Cross. The Lord forced [Richard] de Clare to retreat from Clermont [to England], as his horse was staggering back. The men of Flanders had dazzling shields, and smashed against the shields of the men of Dover and hacked men's heads off. While the mind follows the fortunes of both sides, what you wish for converts with a leap into an action, and the heart becomes responsible by having willed it to happen. England is rich in craft and in military strength. It breeds brave giants, men who are guided by subtlety. France turns its horses and spears and swords against them, and strikes them everywhere with combined forces. Simon de Montfort, a mighty mountain, strode round the enemy ranks, poured out their guts, culled their necks. Roger, whose family name was Bigod, violently smote the regiments of the French, and routed them. William who took his name from his long sword poured out pools of blood with that same long sword. The French rushed to meet the English. The men of Champagne laid low the men of Cornwall, each was drawn on by their own fate. Here someone dies, by whose hand an enemy of the Cross could be dying, if only he had held on to life for a longer time. Deadly weapons make our brief lives shorter, as death comes to meet us and arrives at our own prompting.

horse could be a jocular reference to his apparition of retreating, battle-scarred horses in 1236, *CM,* 3.368. The whole reference may be ironic; though saved from the battle, he never went on crusade.

141 Antaeus was a classical giant, overcome by Hercules.

142 Simon de Montfort, 6th earl of Leicester (1208-65), son of Simon de Montfort (*c.* 1175-1218).

143 Roger Bigod, 4th Earl of Norfolk, and William Longespée II, whose valour and death in the Seventh Crusade are recounted by John, *DTE* 8.351-54. Both are singled out, with Simon de Montfort, for their valour at Saintes by *CM,* 4.213.

144 The Cornish are also mentioned in John's account of the Third Crusade, *DTE,* 3.154. They no doubt accompanied Richard of Cornwall.

<61> Pro dominis terre concurrunt turbine vasto,
Pro domino celi, quid didicere pati?
Non metuit gladios iaculo secura volanti
Wallia nuda pedes, Scotia curta togas.
Cum perone tamen agilique per agmina cursu
Dum quidam volitant, vulnera nulla timent.[145]
Vel sequar hic famam, vel ei conformia fingam.
Confiteor, mendax ne prober esse Deo.[146]
Quidam pro palma pugnant, famamque sequuntur
Multi; pars moritur dum sibi lucra petit.
Orant ex auro vitulum quibus est deus aurum,
Auro pugnantes postposuere Deum.
Tuta Lotoringos invadit Hibernia tenso
Arcu nec longe gesa recurva timet.
Ducens pugnantes pugnat licet otia ducat,
Indignusque piger turget honore probi.
Bolonius comes[147] hinc properat stragemque cruentam[148]
Condensat ; campum purpurat imbre rubro.
Viribus Hispani vires Leicestrius omnes[149]
Obicit; Hispanum deicit usque solum.
Sed citius surgit hostemque requirit; at ille
Prosilit ut sociis robore prestet opem.
Magnanimus cadit in bello, timidum timor aufert
Nec sequitur logice; si cadit, ergo timet.
Barrensem varia gaudentem cede Iohannem
Cancia[150] non patitur, sed furit hucque volat.
Cor mihi complosis pulsant suspiria palmis
Iugera dum cessant, viscera cultor arat.
Agmina qui sternunt, qui vastant rura, relidant
Sic Carrhas, Memphim, Niliacosque duces.[151]
Huc agiles Cumbri quos frigida Cumbria misit
Concurrunt; framea munit et armat eos.
Cumbris occurrunt Alpina falce Gebenne,[152]
Et toto nisu Gallica signa fovent.
<62> Iuxta Londinias arcus Essexia[153] tendens
Et fundas faciens hic gerit arma sua.
Iuxta Parisius Pontisara[154] non minor arcus
Arcubus opponit. Dispare fine tamen,
Nam fundis crebris confunditur, immo vigorem

145 '*Vulnera nulla timent*,' Venantius Fortunatus, 3, *Ad Villicum Episcopum Melitensem,* 24.
146 John confesses to embroidering the action, Introduction, 49-50. '*Confiteor,*' first word of the prayer of confession in the Mass. '*Omnis homo mendax,*' Ps. 115.2.

<61> On behalf of their [earthly] lords nations compete in a huge maelstrom, [but] what have they learnt to suffer for the king of Heaven? Neither the barefoot Welsh nor the Scots with their short kilts feared swords, kept safe by their flights of spears. But as some of them trip through the lines, nimbly running in their leather boots, they fear no wounds.

Here I shall follow what I have heard, or I shall make up something very like it. I confess, lest I be proved to God to be lying. Some fight for the glory of victory, many pursue good repute, some die in search of riches. Those whose God is made of gold pray to a golden calf, and in battle place gold before God. The confident Irish attack the men of Lorraine with taut bows, and do not fear their looping javelins from long distance. The commander of fighting men is in the fight, even though he leads a life of leisure, and a man who is unworthy and lazy is puffed up with the self-esteem of a nobleman. The count of Boulogne comes rushing up, spreading cruel slaughter and turning the battlefield purple with a bloody shower. The earl of Leicester threw all his forces against the troops of the Spaniard, and felled him to the ground. But he swiftly got up and sought out the enemy; Montfort sprang forward, to help his comrades through his valour. A great-hearted man falls in war, but it is fear that carries off the timid; yet it doesn't follow in logic that if a man falls, he is therefore afraid. The men of Kent could not cope with Jean des Barres as he rejoiced in random slaughter, but he raged on and rushed to this place.

I clasp my hands tightly and sobs convulse my heart, as regular ploughing comes to an end and the ploughman ploughs human remains. Let these men who slaughter ranks of men, and leave the countryside desolate, strike back like this at Carrhae, Memphis and the rulers of the Egyptians. Here the nimble Cumbrians, sent by freezing Cumbria come running; spears protect and arm them. The people of the Cevennes confront them with their Alpine sickles, and support the French standards with every sinew. <62> Beside the bows from London, the men of Essex strain theirs, and furnishing slings wield their weapons here. Next to the bows of Paris, those of Pontoise are no less mighty, and their bows oppose the English bows, but with a different outcome. For the English caused havoc by their frequent slingshots, and

147 Alphonse, count of Boulogne by marriage, became Alfonso III of Portugal (1248-79). John refers to him as '*Hispanum*.' Not to be confused with Louis IX's brother, Alphonse.

148 Read '*hinc*' with Wright, not '*hunc*' as in MS.

149 *Leicestrius* = Simon de Montfort.

150 *Cancia* =Kent.

151 Read '*Carrhas*' for '*Charras*' in MS, retained by Wright. Carrhae was the battle in which Crassus was killed by the Parthians in 53 BC; it is used as a proxy for any Middle Eastern battlefield defeat. See also *DTE*, 8.537. Similarly Memphis signifies any Egyptian town.

152 '*Gebennae*' / '[men of the] Cévennes.'

153 A glowing reference here and in line 505 to the archers and slingers of Essex, probably John's home county. See Introduction, 1, 22-23.

154 Pontoise.

Corbie telis Attrebatique capit.[155]
Guillelmus Sayus, Bernerius inde Iohannes
Barrensi vires opposuere suas.[156]
Huius in auxilium dux huc Burgundus adesse
Approperat, Martem fulminis instar[157] agens.
Aut hoc aut simili certant concurrere pacto.
Est mihi pro facto sepe quod esse solet.[158]
Hic dolor, hic gemitus, pedes hic occumbit equesque,[159]
Et neutri parti parcere Parcha potest.[160]
Si gladiis istis incredula turba periret
Gauderem; doleo quod pia turba perit.[161]
Hebreus dudum legis tentebat in hostes;
Nostrates proprii sanguinis imbre madent.[162]
Sunt alii pre mente Crucis vexilla tenentes
Qui iam proponunt longius ire Pharon.[163]
Heu quia dum pugnant acies, inimicus amicus,
Cognitus ignotus, equus iniquus erit.
Certificare data non est leve vulnera, ferre
Nomina, letales notificare modos.
Hos animat sanctus Dionisius et sacer illos
Edmundus.[164] Nutat pendula palma ducum
Qui terram petiere, iacent inhumataque membra,
Lintea non velant, terraque nulla tegit.
Marchio Francigenis obstat, sed casus ut urget
Cras Hugo cogetur Gallica signa sequi.
Stat dum stare potest stabilis, qui bella movendo[165]
Non est Enea nec Diomede minor.
Agmina convertunt in eum Ludovitica bellum;
Contos et gladios suscipit ante, retro;
<63> Pugnat utraque manu, dextra, leva; ne feriatur[166] [88v]
Hesitat; instantes pulsat utrimque tamen,
Ut scopulus gemini fluctus maris undique crebros
Sentit, et immotum mobilis unda cavat,
Sic stat hic immotus et densos accipit ictus[167]

155 La Corbie and Arras in Picardy.
156 William de Say (1190-1271/2) and Lord of Berling, John Berners, see Introduction, 1, n. 29. Hugh IV (1213-71) was duke of Burgundy, who later accompanied Louis IX on the Seventh Crusade.
157 '*Fulminis instar*,' / 'like lightning,' Ovid, *AA*, 3.490.
158 Another clear statement of John's definition of military history, see line 473 and Introduction, 4, 49-50
159 It is pleasing to see in Petrarch's *Africa* 3.246, '*Hic dolor, hic gemitus animarum admissa luentum*,' but sadly there is no proof that he read *DTE*.
160 '*Parcha*,' identified in line 3.437 above as Atropos, one of the three Fates, and responsible for choosing the time and manner of death.
161 John makes clear that he would have no regrets if this slaughter had been of Muslims—or heretics—in a crusade.

undermined the strength of La Corbie and Artois with their missiles. William de Say, then John Berners matched their forces against [Jean] des Barres. The Duke of Burgundy hurried to his aid, warlike as a lightning strike.

They strove in contention following this or a similar account; as far as I am concerned, what usually happens is often a proxy for the facts. Pain and grief were here. Here died foot-soldiers and cavalry. And Mercy could spare neither side. If the crowd of unbelievers had died by these swords, I would have rejoiced; I grieve because it was a multitude of believers who died. The Hebrews strove long ago against the enemies of their law; our own fellow countrymen are soaked in a shower of their own blood. There are others who uphold the banners of the Cross in the forefront of their minds, who are now putting off the voyage to Egypt. Alas, because so long as the armies are fighting, friends will be enemies, acquaintances will become strangers, and righteous men will become unrighteous. It is no minor task to relate the wounds inflicted, to report the names, to record how they died. Saint Denis inspires one side and Saint Edmund the other.

The prize of the leaders who sought land hangs in the balance. Limbs lie unburied and not covered by a linen shroud, and no earth protects them. The count opposed the French, but as fate drives him, tomorrow Hugh will be forced to follow the standards of the French. He stands firm while he is able to stand, he who is no less than Aeneas or Diomedes in making war. Louis' armies brought war to him. He took up pikes and swords, in front of him and behind. <63> He fought with both hands, right and left. He stands steadfast to avoid being smitten, and thrusts at those who attack him on both sides. Like a rock which experiences the frequent surges of the sea on both sides, and standing still is undermined by the restless waves, so he stands without moving, and sustains countless blows, until his two sons leaped to his aid. Richard [of Cornwall] came to help them with a large body of men, and

162 John justifies war against non-Christians by reference to the Hebrews' attacks on the 'enemies of their law', and to earlier generations of European crusaders.

163 It is unclear to which future crusade John is referring. The 'Barons' Crusade' had ended the previous year. Louis IX's commitment came in 1244. John is probably anticipating the planning of the Seventh Crusade if he wrote this passage as late as that. Note the reference to '*Pharon*' a poetic name for Egypt, (e.g. Lucan, 8.564) though literally denoting the lighthouse of Alexandria.

164 St. Denis and St. Edmund the Martyr, respectively tending the souls of the French and English dead.

165 Lines 531-40 are a glowing tribute to the knightly virtues of Hugh X of Lusignan.

166 Ovid, *Fasti,* 5.607, '*Illa iubam dextra, laeva retinebat amictus.*'

167 Lucan, 3.628, '*crebros latus accipit ictus.*'

Donec ad hunc nati prosiluere duo.[168]
In quorum Ricardus opem volat agmine denso;[169]
Agmen pulvereus monstrat adesse globus.
Regius at sanguis, Robertus, roborat arma[170]
Francorum. Sequitur Martia turma ducem.
Contra Ricardum properat Robertus ; at illos
Nec sanguis nec eos fata coire sinunt.[171]
Dissuadere nephas et deterrere fideles
A bellis cupio, dum fera bella[172] cano.
Undique densantur acies, stat in aggere Mavors
Sanguineus; scutis obvia scuta crepant.
Ensibus oblucent enses, et brachia truncant
Et galeas nitidas ferrea clava cavat.
Quando cadunt plangunt sponsas natosque relictos
Archas, vasa, thoros, rura, falerna, domos.
Viscera rimantur cultri, cerebella secures
Et procul ad mortem spicula densa volant.
Quadrupedi quadrupes opponitur, ilia fessus
Tendit sub domino viscera fundit hians.
Si commutatur alicui dextrarius, illi
Sepius expatians fata sinistra gerit.
Inter Christicolas dum tantas colligo strages,
Ex oculis properat plurima gutta meis.[173]
In tanto strepitu conclamant Vascones, 'Ista
Strage nova[174] Franci federa fracta luunt.
Iustam vindictam pia Magdalena requiret,[175]
Hoc scelus in festo triste fuisse suo.'[176]
Lazarus huic frater Avalone clarus in arce[177]
Burgunda sternet Gallica signa metu.
<64> Mittet vindictam Marthe provincia iustam,
Ad quam pervenit quaque sepulta iacet.'
In Tarascona pro Martha multa peregit
Mira Deus, clero testificante loci.[178]
Indomitum domuit ibi quondam Martha draconem;
Postquam suscepit patria tota fidem.
Hanc dominus noster sepelivit, Frontoque presul
Petragore, mira condicione tamen.[179]
Missam Petragore celebravit Fronto, sed alma

168 Guy, sire de Cognac and Hugh XI de Lusignan, who died in Egypt, just after Mansourah.
169 Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. For '*agmine denso*', see Vergil. *Aen*., 9.788, where Mnestheus and Serestus attack Turnus.
170 Robert of Artois, brother of Louis IX. Note the pun, '*roborat*.'
171 This implies that they avoided direct combat beacause of their close family relationship.

a great cloud of dust showed that his army had arrived. Robert, of royal blood, strengthened the French side, and his warlike detachment followed their leader. Robert rushed against Richard, but neither their common blood nor the fates allowed them to meet directly.

I want to create fear of doing what is wrong, and to frighten believers from wars, as I write about these savage battles. The battle lines are becoming more crowded on every side, and bloodthirsty Mars stands on a mound, and shields clash as they meet. Swords spark against swords and hack off arms; and iron maces hollow out glittering helms. When they fall they lament their wives, and the sons they have left behind, the treasure chests, plate, beds, countryside, wine and homes. Ploughs lay bare their guts, and axes their brains, and the clouds of sharp tips of arrows fly from afar bringing death. Horse is set against horse, its legs buckle in exhaustion, and gaping open it pours out its guts with its master still mounted. If someone swaps chargers, very often he loses his way and attracts an unhappy fate. As I put together this account of such great slaughter between Christians, a flood of tears spurts from my eyes. In the midst of this mayhem, the Gascons shout, 'Through this fresh slaughter French are atoning for the broken truce. Holy Magdalene will exact a just revenge for this sad outrage having taken place on her holy day. Her brother Lazarus, well-known in the citadel of Avalon in Burgundy, will through fear lay low the French standards. <64> Martha's Provence will deliver just requital, to which she made her way and where she lies buried.'

In Tarascon God worked many miracles for Martha, as the clergy of the town bear witness. Long ago Martha subdued an invincible dragon there; after that the whole land adopted the faith. Our Lord buried her [in Tarascon], and so did Bishop Fronto of Périgueux, but only by virtue of a miracle. Fronto celebrated mass at Périgueux but dropped off to sleep sitting in the comfortable bishop's throne. An apparition

172 '*fera bella,*' Ovid, e.g., *Fasti*, 3.5.

173 John is reminded by the image of things left behind of Ovid's moving lines *Tristia*, 1.3.3-4, '*Cum repeto noctem qua tot mihi cara reliqui / Labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis.*'

174 Read '*nova*' with MS, not Wright's '*nove.*' Delete, with Wright, '*facta*' before '*fracta,*' deleted by the scribe. In the next line correct '*requirit*' for '*requiret,*' with MS and Wright.

175 Lines 564-84 interrupt the narrative between 563 and 585. John was clearly prompted by invocation of a local saint to produce lines about this miraculous tale, but has not edited the text.

176 See *DTE* 1.315 & n.111, and 3.350-51.

177 See *DTE*, 2, n. 151 & Wright's notes, p.157. According to Ioh. 11, 2, Lazarus was Mary Magdalene's brother. His head was held to be in the church of Avalon and his body in Autun, both places of pilgrimage in Burgundy.

178 Martha. JdeM, 242-44.

179 This story appears in JdeM, 244, in the life of St. Martha. St. Fronto (or Front) was believed to have lived in the first century and to have been sent with St. George by St. Peter to convert the French and to have been the first bishop of Périgueux, where the cathedral is dedicated to him. On St. Fronto, see Herrick (2010).

Presulis in cathedra dormiit ipse sedens,
Spiritus exequias quasi verus homo facit, inde
Evigilans presul canonis explet opus.
Sanctus in exequiis cirothecas Fronto reliquit;
Dimissus pariter anulus eius erat.
Nuntius est missus. Est anulus inde relatus,
Una relata simul est cirotheca sua.
Clamat ad hoc omnis Vasco, 'Maledictio sancti [89r]
Frontonis feriat obvia signa sibi.'
Hiis indignatur verbis pars altera, densat
Ictus, exaltat corda, pedesque movet.
Conclamant Franci, 'Sic terram Vasco requirit.
In quo Vasco iaces, liber habeto solum.'
Hiis invectivis animos pars utraque sumit
Et giro stringit interiore pedes.
Alternando locum sibi cedunt, nunc retrocedunt
Isti, nunc illi, conveniuntque sibi.
Commiscentur ibi dolor et pudor. Ad mare spectat
Anglicus, ad fluvium[180] lumina Gallus habet.
Quos Deus in campo salvat, disponit ut illi
In Parthos vertant Martia signa Crucis.
In mare descendit illic Chirinta propinquum,
Et properat latis impetuosus aquis.
Hunc fluvium contra treugas ardentia signa
Gallica transierant Martis amore[181] feri.
<65> Hic retro ferre pedem non sustinet hostis, et inde
Continuat nocti bella cruenta[182] labor.
Ipsos respexit celestis gratia reges,
Incolumes regna qui tenuere sua.
Consilium[183] revocat Anglorum signa, satisque
Est illis motus opposuisse pares.
Willielmus Sayus Barrensem ducit ad urbem
Sanctonicam[184] secum consociique sui.
Gallicus exclamat furor, 'O pudor, O dolor, O fraus
O scelus! Abripitur hinc eques ille probus.
Instimulemus equos, captumque sequamur et urbem
Undique succensam precipitemus humum.'
Curritur ad portas, Francos facit ira recentes
Ad bellum, strages altera crescit ibi.
Simon de Monte Forti pro menibus astat
Et contra fortes fortia bella gerit.[185]
Vi claudit portas, et noctis subvenit umbra.
Castraque dimissa Gallica turma petit
Redditur interea par pro pare, milite miles,

delivered the funeral rites just like the real man, then the bishop woke up and finished officiating over the mass. Saint Fronto left his gloves at the funeral, and his ring was likewise left behind. A messenger was sent [for them]. The ring was brought back, and so was one glove with it.

At this every Gascon raised the cry, 'May the curse of Saint Fronto strike the standards drawn up against him.' The other side were furious at their words, redoubled their blows, lifted up their hearts and marched forward. The French shouted back, 'This is how a Gascon demands land – feel free to possess the land in which you Gascons lie dead.' Each side took courage from these insults, and made a sideways manoeuvre within their lines. They gave ground as they swapped positions, now one side retreating, now another, and then they met. Pain and shame were mingled there. The English looked out to the sea, the French turned their eyes to the river. Those whom God saved on the battlefield, He ordained that they should turn the battle standards of the Cross against the Parthians. There the Charente descends to the nearby sea, and rushes impatiently to its wide waters. It was across this river that the bright banners of the French had come in contravention of the truce, through their passion for savage war.

<65> Here, the enemy could not bear to retreat, and their striving continued the bloody battle till nightfall. Heavenly grace had regard to the kings themselves, and they held on to their kingdoms unharmed. Advice to the king led to withdrawal of the forces of the English; they were satisfied to have blocked their enemy's thrust. William de Say and his supporters led Des Barres to the city of Saintes. The French fury exploded, 'The shame, the pain, the deception! What a crime! This noble knight is being abducted from here! Let us spur on our horses, and follow him in captivity, and let us burn the city and cast it to the ground. Everyone rushed to the gates, anger made the French fresh for war, and another slaughter got under way there. Simon de Montfort stood before the walls, and boldly waged war against brave men. He closed the gates by force, and the shadow of night came to the rescue, and the French forces were sent away and went back to their camp. Meanwhile like for like is exchanged, knight for knight, servant for servant on identical terms. A man called Henry [of Hastings], a squire who was dangerous

180 The Charente.
181 '*Martis amore*', Vergil, *Aen.*, 7.550.
182 '*bella cruenta,' Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 1, 12, '*Bella cruenta silent, ubi caelica milia gaudent / cuncta…'*
183 '*Consilium revocat Anglorum*' in MS and Wright does not scan, but is not amended.
184 Saintes.
185 John uses pun, alliteration and a striking hypallage, with '*Forti.. fortes.. fortia*.'

Servus pro servo conditione pari.
Henricus quidam gladio metuendus et hasta
Est pro Barrensi tiro Iohanne datus.[186]
Sole reportato motu rapientis Olimpi,
Burdegalas vadit rex equitando suus.[187]
Nautarum cetus[188] intrat mare classe pererrans,
Et vastans portus quos scit obesse sibi.[189]
Quas procul oceanus absorbet gurgite vasto,
Illuc retrogradas eiaculatur aquas.
Quolibet unda die refluit bis et effluit illic
Effectu lune que dominatur aquis.
Lucani Seneceque fuit sententia talis
Nec que opinantur dicere turpe puto.[190]
Cinthia[191], Mercurius, Venus, et Sol, Mars, Iovis astrum [89v]
Saturnus circlos sic habuere suos.[192]
Dum fluxum tardant[193] alii dominando planete[194]
Ordinat effectum cuilibet hora sua.
Des lune primam, des octavam sibi, quintam
Des horam decimam, talis ut ordo petit.
Huic vigena secunda datur, vigenaque summo
Tertia Saturno, quarta sit inde Iovis.
Mars horas lucis sibi vendicat inde sequentis
Ordine lunari, Mercuriusque sequens.
Ordo planetarum sic scitur, et ordo dierum,
Et quem quisque sibi querit habere diem.
Non mare fit plenum semper lunaribus horis
Dum nautis titubans itque reditque Thetis.
<66> Rostratas ferro sentit Rupella[195] galeas,
Ruptaque cum rostris hec sua rostra dolet.[196]
Compatitur terris mare; strata cadavera cingunt
Dorida,[197] dum Glauci purpurat ora cruor.[198]
Dovorie ratibus impulsa Bolonia[199] damna

186 *CM*, 4.213. Henry of Hastings was captured with twenty knights and a sizeable infantry contingent. They were all exchanged for Jean des Barrres and the six knights with him, captured by William de Say. See Book 3, n.133 above.

187 *CM*, 4.224. Henry III fled on horseback to Blaye, then to Bordeaux, hotly pursued by Louis.

188 The word used for the ship's company in Vergil, *Aen.*, 5.43. Much of the vocabulary from the beginning of Book 5 is used in this section of *De Triumphis.*

189 *CM*, 4. 238-9. The guardians of the Cinque Ports in England complain of frequent attacks by the French.

190 Lucan is more doubtful, see 1.412-16; Seneca *De Providentia,* 1.4.

191 The moon.

192 The sun and moon, as well as the known planets, were believed from Roman times to be in orbit round the Earth, in this order. Lines 635-46 describe the system of planetary hours of medieval

with sword and spear was swapped for Jean des Barres. With the sun brought back again by the movement of the rushing sky, his king made his way on horseback to Bordeaux which was his. A large force of sailors put to sea, roaming the sea in their fleet, and raiding the ports which they knew stood in their way. And Ocean sucked them in from afar into its great whirlpool, and spewed the water out again as it flowed back.

Every day the tide ebbs and flows twice there, through the influence of the moon, which exerts its power on the waters. The following was the opinion of Lucan and of Seneca, and I feel no shame in repeating their views. The moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter's star and Saturn have their own orbits. While the various planets hold back the tide by their influence, it is their allocated hour which puts their influences in sequence. Grant the first, eighth and fifteenth to the moon, as such a sequence requires. The moon also has the twenty-second hour, let the twenty-third be Saturn's at its zenith, and then the twenty-fourth Jupiter's. Mars claims the daylight hours which follow in the lunar sequence, and then Mercury. That is how we know the order of the planets and of the days, and which day each claims as its own. The sea does not always have a high tide on the hours when the moon has influence, while, for sailors, Thetis comes and goes in unsteady fashion.

<66> La Rochelle feels the impact of galleys with iron prows, and mourns her own ships shattered by them. The sea suffers with the land, and a carpet of corpses surround Doris, while blood reddens the face of Glaucus. Boulogne was attacked

astrology. Each planet was dominant on its own day, reflected in the names of the days. Each day (sunrise to sunset) and each night was divided into twelve unequal hours (except at the equinox), and the whole into twenty-four. The planets' influence followed the moon's in reverse order, hour by hour. Thus the moon was dominant in the first and eighth daytime hours of Monday ('Moonday'), the first day, and on the third (fifteenth) and tenth (twenty-second) of the night. The rigid sequence of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, sun, Venus and Mercury followed from hour to hour, though the days were and are in the order, moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, sun. Each planet's influence was greatest on its named day, and within that day in its own hours, but the power of the planets was seen to be in inverse proportion to their distance from the earth. See Falk (1999), especially table on p. 125.

193 Read '*tardant*' with MS, not '*tardunt*' with Wright.

194 '*planeta*' is masculine.

195 La Rochelle, provided with a naval squadron by Louis and given orders to harry the English in 1242, *CM*, 4. 188, 209.

196 N.b. the pun '*Rupella*'/'*rupta.*'

197 Daughter of Oceanus, used by classical poets to mean 'the sea.'

198 Read '*Glauci*', not '*Clauci*' with MS and Wright. Glaucus, in Greek mythology, was a fisherman, metamorphosed into a seagod, Ovid, *Met*, 13.906. '*Glaucus*' also means 'bright, sparkling-grey,' contrasting with the colour of blood. The scribe again misunderstands a proper name, see Introduction, 2, 32 & n. 7.

199 Boulogne.

Fert et agit; rivum cedis arena bibit.[200]
Hugo fit Francus, dum presul mobilis[201] urbis
Claves presentat, Rex Ludovice, tibi.
Est comes exemplo. Male temptat querere plura,
Qui quod habet perdit, factus inermis, inops.[202]
Non quia perdiderat Hugo cuncta reversus ad illum
Qui pius urbana mente recepit eum.[203]
Insidie quid agant demonstrat Blavia silva,[204]
Qua strati pedites occuluere vias.
Anglicus hic gladius animas quot miserat Orcho,
Corpora quot terris, non capit iste stilus.
Heu, heu, cur nati fuerant, elegia quorum
Est mortis carcer et baratrale chaos?
Non tamen hos baratro stulte diiudico. Causas
Si iustas habeant, iudicet ipse Deus.
Subsequitur vindictam Dei subitanea pestis,
Aure fetor, aque lesio, febris hians,
<67> Lingua tumens, venter distentus, tabida pellis,
Oris pallor, hebes gustus, anhela[205] sitis.
Flumina non nulli credunt infecta veneno,
Fontes et puteos, fercula, vasa, merum.
Hiis causis largas vaga mors extendit habenas.
Inque viis mediis corpora mota cadunt,
Funera vix capiunt tentoria; dum videt ergo
Princeps bellipotens[206] ista, reflectit iter.
Que secum gessit oloflammea[207] Karolus olim,
Clara reponuntur, dum nive canet hiems.
Pugnam pontifices[208] sunt quidam pace secuti
Proscripta, pacem nec reparare student.
De regum bonitate[209] venit quod pace sequestra[210]
Armatas acies signa referre iubent.
Parisius rector varios interritus audit [90r]
Rumores, palme spemque fidemque tenens.

200 Read '*rivum*' with MS, not '*rivam*' with Wright.
201 The story reverts to line 624, and the town of Saintes. The bishop of Saintes was Hugh's envoy, who successfully struck a deal with Louis IX after his unsuccessful rebellion, *CM,* 4.214-15.
202 Marbodus (c. 1035- 1123), *Libellus de ornamentis verborum*, 11, '*Solus, inermis, inops, inglorius ecce redisti,' PL,* 171, col. 1819. See also *EBVM,* 8.195, '*nudus, inermis, inops, deiectus… .'*
203 i.e. Louis IX. For the terms on which Louis accepted Hugh X's allegiance, see Joinville, 103.
204 Louis' forces nearly captured Henry near Blaye. They were then halted by a serious epidemic, which killed many and infected Louis. John recounts that the English took major advantage of this, though Matthew Paris' account makes no such suggestions, *CM,* 4.224-25.
205 Read '*anhela*' with Wright, not '*hanela*' in MS.
206 Louis IX.

by the ships of Dover, it took and delivered damage, and its beach soaked up a river of blood.

Hugh became French while the bishop of that fickle city gave you the keys, King Louis. Let the count be an example. He made a misguided attempt to acquire more, and when he lost what he had, he was rendered defenceless and without resources. It was not because he had lost everything that Hugh returned to Louis, who, pious as he was, received him back in a gracious frame of mind.

The forest of Blaye shows what an ambush can achieve, where foot soldiers infiltrated and hid the paths. My pen cannot encompass how many souls the swords of the English despatched here to Hell, and how many corpses to their graves. Alas, why were they born, whose memorial is the prison of death and the chaos of the pit. I am not so foolish as to condemn them to the pit. If they have just causes, let God be their judge. In the wake of God's vengeance follow a sudden plague, foulness of the air, pollution of water, a gasping fever, <67> swollen tongue, distended stomach, festering skin, pallid face, dull taste-buds, and gasping thirst. Many believe the rivers are spiked with poison, and the springs, wells, the food and plates it is served on, and the wine. By these means death wandered and stretched his wide-ranging reins. Corpses which had been moved were dropped in the middle of the streets; the tents could scarcely contain the bodies. Seeing all this the king, mighty in war, retraced his steps. The brilliant Oriflamme, which Charlemagne had once flown, was put away, while winter was white with snow. Certain bishops pursued war, and set peace to one side, and were making no effort to patch up the peace. It was as a result of the kings' goodness that they ordered their armies to carry back their banners, under the guarantee of peace.

The ruler in Paris, undismayed, and holding to hope of victory and his faith, heard various rumours. In one place the Albigensians, in another the Mongols were

207 '*Oloflammea*,' (here neuter plural) or 'Oriflamme,' the red and gold banner associated with the Abbey of St. Denis and sometimes carried in battle by medieval French kings. The Song of Roland, 3093-95 notes that it was renamed from St. Martin's banner, carried by Charlemagne. *CM*, 4.210, '*ecce nostri Anglici viderunt oloflammam regis Francorum et eorundem papiliones, cum vexillis*,' is the only other reference to its use on this occasion. See R. Jones (2004). See also Gaposchkin (2017), 70-71 & n. 31 for Philip II's use of the banner before the Third Crusade and linkage of its blessing with the pilgrimage liturgy.

208 'bishops.'

209 A five-year truce was agreed in late 1242 and signed on 23 April 1243.

210 Statius, Thebaid, 2. 425 '*nec sceptra fide nec pace sequestra*.'

Hinc Albigensis, hinc Tartarus arma resumit,[211]
Et ferus Ecclesiam ledit uterque sacram.
Enucleatus erit error prius Albius.[212] Optat
Melpomene[213] tragica promere gesta mihi;
Vertit in exiguos elegos[214] Elegia carmen
Grande, mihi mundi crimina flere vacat.[215]
Extirpans heresis radices Gallica virtus
Roborat arma fide, protegit ense fidem.
Est heresis cervix Hidre capitosa, renascens
Herculis ad gladium, sepe sed icta perit.[216]
Huius origo mali multis ignota modernis;
Exeat, et notulis[217] nota sit illa meis.

211 *CM*, 4.226, Immediately on returning to Paris, Louis sought financial support for an attack on the Cathars and Raymond of Toulouse, following the murder of Dominican inquisitors at Avignonet. Raymond, deprived of support from Henry III, soon collapsed and was forced to besiege and eliminate the Cathars at Monségur. The Mongol threat was well-known, see e.g. *CM*, 4.112, and Louis was not actively engaged in fighting them.

212 i.e. in Books 4 & 5.

213 Muse of tragic and lyric poetry. John means that while he should be writing about the glorious deeds of kings in a poem in epic style, his choice of elegiacs allows his subject matter and emotions to range more widely.

returning to arms, and each was causing vicious harm to the holy Church. First the error of the Albigensians will be made clear. Melpomene chooses to bring to light these tragic deeds for me. Elegia turns my noble poem to sparse elegiacs, and I have space to weep over the sins of the world. French courage is stamping out the roots of heresy, strengthening its armed might through the faith, and protecting the faith with the sword. Heresy is the many-headed neck of the Hydra, gaining new life at the point of Heracles' sword, even though it dies many times through its thrusts. The root cause of this evil is unknown to many people today, so let it be told, and let it be noted through my modest notes.

214 '*exiguos elegos*,' Horace, *AP*, 77.

215 John explicitly says that he sees *De triumphis* as a poem in the high style. See Introduction, 4, 46. His use of '*flere vacat*' harks back to Statius and *DTE*, Preface.7.

216 Hercules' second labour was to kill the nine-headed Hydra of Lerna, which grew new heads every time one was cut off.

217 A play on words. '*Notule*' is the word usually used for musical notation. Here it means 'notes.' John ends Book 3 with a reminder of his didactic purpose.

Book 4

Incipit quartus liber. Sequitur de bellis Ecclesie contra Albigenses hereticos et de causis eorum

<68> Pace Biterrensis urbs[1] quondam floruit alta,
Fulsit et Ecclesie gloria, palma, quies.
Sepe sed inflammat minime scintillula litis
Rixas, et rixe bellica signa movent.[2]
Erumpunt crebri querulo de pectore treni
Dum fleo scismatici facta prophana chori.
Est in permissis regum tolerantia bellis
Sed fraudes heresum quis tolerare potest?
Dant belli causam potus,[3] lis, ira, libido,
Fastus, fur, heresis, fraus, socialis amor,
Copia secura, vis ardua, ludus ineptus,
Mens iniusta, latens livor, avara sitis.
O de te Fortuna queror, quia gaudia cernens
Luges, et rides tristia bella movens.
Sed te Crux veneranda domat, calcat tua colla
Deridens crines calvitiumque tuum.[4]
Militat in mundo iustus, celoque triumphat.
Hic penam patitur, premia sumit ibi.
Adiungens causas effectis, ardua gesta
Perstringo finis sub ratione sui.
Rogerus[5] viguit illa dominator in urbe,
Qui Cruce signatus signa beata tulit.
<69> Ille profectus abit peregre. Caram sibi sponsam
Cuidam committit, fisus amore pio.
Albius hanc presul recipit ; quia presul habetur
Et castus, casto creditur esse fides,
Et quia predicti Rogeri compater ille
Extitit, ut nate debuit esse pater.
Teste tamen fama, custos cognovit eandem,
O facinus, rerum copia furta facit.
Dum caro blanditur rationi, ianua cordis
Panditur et ratio iam rationis eget.
Dum ratio carni succumbit, sol microcosmi
Eclipsim patitur, lunaque lucis eget.

1 Béziers.
2 '*bellica signa*,' Ovid, *Fasti,* 5.550.
3 '*cupido*' is deleted in MS and replaced by '*libido*.'
4 Representations of *Fortuna* in the Middle Ages often showed her with long hair at the front and the back of her head bald; this was originally a characteristic of *Occasio* / Opportunity, and symbolised

Book 4

The fourth book begins. There follows an account of the Church's wars against the Albigensian heretics and their causes.

<68> The city of Béziers once prospered in peace on its hilltop, and the glory of the Church, its triumph and tranquillity gleamed forth. But often the small spark of a minor dispute inflames violent quarrels, which themselves set battle standards in motion. Frequent are the laments which burst from my indignant breast as I weep over the unholy acts of the schismatic rabble. We can have some patience with the wars between kings which they have authorised, but who can endure the dishonesty of heresies? Drunken behaviour, disputes, rage, lust, arrogance, thievery, heresy, deception, support for an ally, keeping wealth secure, military adventurism, a clumsy jest, an unjust attitude, simmering jealousy, a yearning longing can all be *casus belli.* My complaint is against you, Goddess of Fortune, because you wear mourning when you see happiness, and laugh as you stir up grievous wars. But the Cross, which must be revered, brings you to heel, crushes your neck, laughing to scorn your long hair and your baldness. The just man serves as a knight on earth, and triumphs in Heaven. Here he suffers the pain but there he receives his rewards. Linking causes with effects, I tell of painful acts in the light of their outcome.

Roger was well established in power in that city. He had taken the Cross and bore the blessed emblems. <69> He set out on his travels abroad, and entrusted his beloved wife to a certain man, trusting in his Christian love. The bishop of Albi took her into his care. Because as a bishop he was regarded as celibate, Roger believed in his chastity. And because he was Roger's godfather, [for her] he should have been as a father to a daughter. Yet let rumour be my witness, the guardian seduced her. What a crime! Access paved the way for secret crimes. While the flesh beguiles reason, the door to the heart is opened, and now reason itself lacks reason. While

the difficulty of seizing the right moment to grab her hair. On images of Fortuna, see Battistini (2002), 310-15.

5 Roger II Trencavel, viscount of Béziers, Carcassonne, Albi and Razès (1167-94). There is no evidence that he went on crusade, though ancestors fought in the First and Second Crusades (Riley-Smith (1997a), 103 & n. 145). He did however support Alfonso II of Aragon in the siege of Valencia in 1185, Cheyette (2001), 334, and could have fought the Muslims earlier in Iberia, or even in the Holy Land. He married Adela, daughter of his lord, Raymond V, count of Toulouse, in 1171. There is no corroborating evidence for this story of his wife's seduction, but it seems to have been part of local tradition and John appears to believe it. Roger did however imprison a bishop of Albi, William of Dourgne, in 1175, for unspecified reasons, Cheyette (2001), 308-18. He was released only in 1178 after military intervention by the papal legate Henri de Marcy, who excommunicated Roger (RH, 2.156 & 166). In 1179 he was again excommunicated with Raymond V for lack of zeal against the Cathars, under Canon 27 of the Third Lateran Council. Roger shifted allegiance to Alfonso II after this episode. Until the battle of Muret in 1213 (see *DTE* 4.415-64), the loyalties of Languedoc shifted frequently between the counts of Toulouse and the kings of Aragon. For full background on the complex regional politics, especially the Trencavels, see Graham-Leigh (2005) and Cheyette (2001).

Est caro luna, iubar solis[6] non invenit; immo,
Excecans ipsam,[7] ceca palude iacet. [90v]
Multi non credunt fame, sed frivola gentis
Heretice dicunt de patre ficta probo.
Rogerus rediens scelus expiat ense, gravisque
Summi pontificis planctus in aure strepit.
Ultio subsequitur, legatus mittitur, ensem
Exerit Ecclesie canonis ense potens.
Canone percutitur parricida Rogerus et eius
Fautores, sequitur ultio digna Crucis.
Non etenim licuit parricide sumere talem
Vindictam, poscit quam sibi sacra Syon.[8]
Idem Tholose comitem[9] legatus habebat
Suspectum quadam condicione loci.
Mansit homo comitis Rogerus, nec tamen illi
Contulerat plenam robore maior opem,
Iure nec Ecclesie matris surrexit in illum.
Idcirco subiit canonis arma[10] comes.
Perplexus fuerat quo vergeret. Hostis haberi
Cognati timuit Ecclesieque sacre.
Hic aliquo non rege minor, generosus et audax,
Non mala permisit quae potuere geri.
<70> Sepe facit facinus famulus quod non facit heros[11]
Nec iubet, inde tamen crimen habere potest.
Concilio medio sevus rapit arma satelles
Legatumque ferit, interimitque pium.
Lanceat huic pectus sacrum dum mortis in hora
Profert ista, 'Deus sit benedictus, amen.'[12]
Nomine vir Petrus Petri fuit ille beati
Nuntius, et Christo se dedit ipse petre.
De Castro fuit ille Novo, de pectore castrum
Fecerat Ecclesie stans in agone pugil.
Istis auditis insanit Roma, cruorem
Ulcisci fusum Papa suique student.
Heu quoniam cessat Terre promotio Sacre,
Armat dum populi pectus imago Crucis.[13]
Sunt procul exciti variis de partibus orbis

6 '*iubar solis,*' Suetonius, *Augustus*, 94.5.
7 Read '*ipsam*' with MS, for Wright's '*ipsum*'.
8 Roger had broken the law by murdering the bishop, even though the breach of trust while he was on crusade should be avenged.
9 Raymond V, count of Toulouse.
10 '*Crucis*' is deleted in the MS and '*comes*' is substituted. '*Arma*' here signifies excommunication.
11 John now jumps to 1208. Raymond V's son, Raymond VI, was now count of Toulouse (1194-1222).

reason surrenders to the flesh, the sun undergoes a lunar eclipse, and the moon goes dim. The flesh is like the moon. The sun's brightness cannot reach it; on the contrary, it blinds the moon, and lies in a sightless morass. Many do not believe the rumour, but say that this is the lying tittle-tattle of a heretic people about a highly respectable bishop.

Roger returned, and expiated the crime with his sword; the grievous cry of outrage of the supreme pontiff rang in his ear. Retribution followed, a legate was despatched, and empowered by the sword of canon law drew the sword of the Church. Roger the parricide was struck down by the law of the Church, and expiation worthy of the Cross was imposed on his supporters. For it was not lawful for the parricide to exact such a requital, even though holy Jerusalem demanded it for itself. The same legate held the count of Toulouse under suspicion over a specific aspect of his standing. Roger was still the count's vassal, but this man of superior rank did not give him whole-hearted support through his power, nor did he attack Roger in compliance with the law of mother Church. That was why the count suffered the weapons of canon law. He had not known where to turn, and was afraid to be perceived as an enemy both by his kinsman and by the holy Church. The count, no less powerful than many a king, lofty of spirit and courageous, did not himself authorise wicked deeds, which could to be committed all the same.

<70> Often a subordinate commits a crime, which the hero neither does himself nor orders, yet can nevertheless take the blame. In the middle of a meeting a member of his retinue viciously took up arms and struck and killed the pious legate. He struck him with his lance in his saintly breast, and in the hour of death the legate said, 'God be praised, amen'. This man called Peter was the messenger of St. Peter, and he offered himself to Christ, who is as a rock. He was from Castelnau, or the 'new fortress', and of his breast he made a new fortress for the Church, standing as its champion in his martyrdom. At this news, Rome was in turmoil, and the pope and his supporters were bent on avenging the bloodshed. How sad, that recruiting for the Holy Land was at a standstill, while the sign of the Cross fortified the breasts of the populace. People were stirred up from far

12 For the murder of the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, see Pope Innocent III's letter seeking support for a campaign against Raymond VI to avenge it (PVC, 56-65: Sibly & Sibly n. 2 for evidence of its wide dissemination). John's verses closely reflect its language.

13 The pope's letter offers remission of sins for those who campaign. The crusade's supporters wore the Cross (PVC, 81). Compare John's implied criticism in line 69 with Innocent III's language, '*hereticam inde studeatis perfidiam abolere, sectatores ipsius, eo quam Sarracenos securius quo pejores sunt illis, in manu forti et extento brachio impugnando.*'

14 Read '*abbatus*' with MS and scansion, not '*abbas*' with Wright.

15 Arnaud Aimery, papal legate and abbot of Cîteaux was in overall command. Philip II of France was unwilling to participate, but sent the duke of Burgundy and the count of Nevers, with 500 knights. Other counts in the campaign against the Trencavels were Saint-Pol, Montfort, and Bar-sur-Seine, with Raymond VI joining the crusade—ostensibly against him in the first place-- after his humiliating reconciliation with the Church on 18 June 1209 (PVC, 77).

Quos Cruce signatos ducit ad arma fides.
Istis preficitur abbatus Cistercius et dux[14]
Burgundus; comites signa tulere sua.[15]
Excludit cunctos clausa statione Biterris.
Carcassona tenet menia clausa sua.
Hostiles cuneos munita Tholosa repellit,
Robore consentit urbs Agenensis ei.
Ne dominus terre[16] dominatum perdere possit,
Obstat defendens ius quod habere putat.
Sunt ibi concives iusti, validique coloni,
Proxima sed puris fex inimica nocet.
Muros balistis corroborat Albia; castra
Cetera quid dicam fortia queque situ.
Fortia castra comes Fuxensis, fortia claudit[17]
Qui Convenarum colligit arma comes.[18] [91r]
Ecclesie clause multos siluere per annos,
Et sic hereseos crevit inepta seges.
Non tamen in cunctis habitat, sed sub saliunca[19]
Flet rosa, sub lappa lilia lesa dolent.
Quod viget in trino Deus unus, trinus in uno,
<71> Invida, ceca, rudis, devia turba negat.
Grossa superficies tua lumina, rustice, cecat,[20]
Palpatus paries quem sine luce necat.
Tu si sis iustus, est ergo ramnus[21] oliva,
Corvus olor, curvus linea, terra polus.
Sic solecismus est sermo congruus, et sic
Entimema nihil curvat in arte sibi.[22]
Sectis heretici variis hesere, sed omnes
In nos armantur, Ecclesiamque premunt.
Invitans unus alium fert fercula, dicens,
'Hoc natura mihi contulit absque Deo.'
Alter ait, 'Fecit malus hoc Deus.' Hospes at illum
Ieiunum propere cogit abire domo.
'Ex quo composuit mea dona diabolus?' inquit,[23]
'Non comedes pravi fercula prava Dei.'[24]
Fecis uterque sue sic expuit atra venena
In faciem summi largifluique boni.[25]

16 John is referring collectively to the overlords in Languedoc, Raymond VI and Peter of Aragon, as well as to the nobles who owed them fealty.
17 Raymond-Roger, count of Foix (1188-1223).
18 Bernard IV, count of Commignes (1175-1225).
19 Vergil, *Ecl.* 5. 16-17, '*Lenta salix quantum pallenti cedit olivae / Puniceis humilis quantum saliunca rosetis.*' A favourite image of John's; see, e.g. *EBVM*, 8.656.

away, all over the world, led by their faith to take up weapons as crusaders. A Cistercian abbot and the Duke of Burgundy were put in charge, and the counts bore their own standards.

Béziers closed its gates to all, and enclosed its garrison. Carcassonne occupied its ramparts and kept the city closed. Toulouse was fortified and held off the hostile forces. The city of Agen was strong and shared Toulouse's loyalties. The lord resisted in defence of the right he believed to be his, to prevent the loss of his lordship over the land. There were right-minded citizens there, and sturdy farmers, but the harmful dregs lying close by polluted the uncontaminated. Albi strengthened its battlements with catapults. What should I say of the other strongholds, all located in strong positions? The count of Foix made his forts secure and strong; the count of Commignes did likewise and mustered his forces. The churches had lain silent and closed for many years, and thus the worthless corn of heresy grew strong. It did not thrive in everyone; but the rose weeps beneath the wild nard, and the bruised lilies grieve under the burrs.

<71> This envious, blind, unsophisticated and erring rabble denies that one God lives in three, and three in one. This huge building deprives your eyes of light, you yokel, and the wall which you grope for in pitch dark kills you. If you are a righteous man, by that logic a branch of wood is an olive tree, a crow is a swan, a straight line curved, and the earth is the sky. Thus solecism is coherent speech, and an enthymeme makes no deviation in its logic. Heretics have adhered to various sects, but they are all in arms against us, and putting pressure on the Church. One heretic invites another and brings dishes of food, saying, 'Nature made this for me, without God's involvement.' His guest says, 'The bad God made this', and the host forces him to leave his home, hurriedly and hungry. 'From what did the devil make my offerings?' he says, 'You shall not eat the vile dishes from the bad God.' Each of

20 Read '*lumina, rustice,*' with MS, not Wright's '*rustice lumina*'. Lines 93-94 are obscure.
21 See *DTE*, 7.61-64 & n. 19.
22 '*Solecismus*' is a grammatical error, and '*entimema*' an incomplete and 'rhetorical' syllogism.
23 MS has '*diablus.*' Amend with Wright to '*diabolus,*' scanning second syllable long.
24 MS has '*dona*' deleted for '*prava.*'
25 The humour of this exchange is not immediately apparent. John is poking fun at dualist beliefs, and at their irrationality in accepting food, one of the single God's principal blessings, but which, as a bodily need derives from the 'bad' God.

Adicerem sectas varias; sed virus earum
Pollueret metri schemata pura mei.[26]
Omnia de nihilo fecit Deus,[27] omnia facta
In seriem redigens et seriata regens.
Non tangit rerum series incredula corda,
Fervida non estas, non glacialis hiems,
Non terre subita que Phebe pallet ab umbra,[28]
Obstat dum Phebo linea lucis egens.
Eclipsim solis casu, non corpore lune
Subiecto fieri pars ibi magna putat.
Pars inimica Deo, Sathaneque domestica, sectas
Fingit et in fictis[29] pectora fixa tenet.
Perstringunt elegi quedam philosophica mesti,
Que veterum fudit vaticus ampla stilus:
Inter signa duo que sunt distancia, quorum
Hoc cadit, hoc surgit, crescit in orbe malum.[30]
<72> Heretici fiunt hodie, baptisma petebant
Olim prelustres, magnanimique duces.
Lucius accivit rex ad baptisma Britannos[31]
Primitus, et patrios fecit abire deos.
Regis Eleutherio festinat epistola pape
Ut legatus ei dogmata sacra ferat.
Anno centeno nonagenoque beati
Partus, templa Dei per sua regna novat.
Floruit ergo fides medio tunc tempore longo
Sed Vortigerni tempore lesa fuit.[32]
Hengistus Saxon fidei corruptor ab hoste
Aurelio captus decapitatus obit.[33] [91v]
Uter[34] et Arthurus, fidei duo menia sacre,
Exemplum dederant et speculare iubar.
Inter eos crevit gens Anglica, dura labori
Corde capax,[35] Christo dedita, larga cibis.
Herba nocens sensim surgit que ledit amaro
Succo, que segetem sternit inepta bonam.
Extincte fuerunt flamme, viguit tamen inter
Extinctos cineres concitus ignis edax.[36]

26 Rubric in right margin, '*De mirabilibus operibus Dei contra hereticos.*' John does however refer to the Waldensians at *DTE*, 2.138.
27 '*Omnia que fecit, quia ex nihilo fecit,*' Augustine, *De natura boni contra Manichaeos,* 1, *PL* 42, 551.
28 Read '*subitaque*' for Wright's '*subita quae.*'
29 The MS has '*fictis*' as a correction of '*fixis.*'
30 In both instances read '*hoc,*' with the grammar, rather than '*haec,*' with Wright. Wright's punctuation is also revised.

them thus spits the black poison of his own filth in the face of the highest and most bounteous blessing. I could list the various sects, but their poison would corrupt the pure style of my verse.

God made everything out of nothing, and He places everything He has made in order, and controls everything He has ordered. This order does not touch the hearts of the unbelieving, neither the hot summer, nor the freezing winter. [For them] the moon does not suddenly go pale through the shadow of the earth, when through its alignment the earth, deprived of light, blocks the sun. A large part [of the people] in that region believes that the eclipse of the sun happens by chance, rather than because the body of the moon has been blocked. That element, hostile to God and attached to Satan's household, fashions sects and once these have been invented, keeps people's hearts committed to them. My sad elegiacs touch on certain philosophical matters, which the pen of the ancient poets produced in abundance. Whenever among the signs [of the zodiac] two stand apart, of which one is in decline, the other on a rising track, evil grows in the world.

<72> Today leading men and noble leaders become heretics, yet in the past they sought baptism. King Lucius first welcomed the Britanni to baptism, and drove away their ancestral gods. A letter from the king to Pope Eleutherius pressed for a legate to bring the holy doctrine to him. In the one hundred and ninetieth year after the holy birth, he transformed the temples of God throughout his realm. Thus the faith thrived for a long time in the interim, but suffered a setback in the time of Vortigern. Hengist the Saxon, underminer of the faith, was captured and died by beheading at the hands of his enemy Aurelius. Uther and Arthur, two bastions of the holy faith, had offered an example and a brilliant reflection. In their midst the English nation grew up, hard working, receptive in their wisdom, wholly committed to Christ, generous in their hospitality.

The poisonous plant grew gradually, harming with its bitter sap, and, at odds with the good corn, destroyed it. The flames were put out, but the consuming fire, once

31 Lucius, a probably mythical king of the Britons in the second century CE, asked Pope Eleutherius to receive him as a Christian. Missionaries were sent, the people proselytised, and the pagan temples converted into churches. Bede, *Historia*, 1.4; GM, 4.72. See A. Smith (1979) for the Lucius myth.

32 Vortigern, a fifth century king of England, GM *passim.*

33 Hengist's beheading, GM, 125.

34 Uther Pendragon.

35 '*corde capax,*' translated as 'receptive in their wisdom.' '*Corde*' could also be from '*c[h]orda*/ bowstring,' a compliment to English archers.

36 '*ignis edax*' / 'consuming fire'. Vergil, *Aen.* 2.758.

Impia Waldensis secte doctrina latenter
Tholose repsit, pollueratque fidem.[37]
Hic rexit Gothos Alaricus[38]; expulit armis
Hos Clodoveus ad baratrale chaos.
Angolisma suos vidit descendere muros
Regis in adventu, regis aperta fide.[39]
Karolus intonuit et eo veniente cadebat[40]
Murus Tholose, precipitante Deo.
Per vicos gladius effudit sanguinis undas,
Et gentis lavit exitiale lutum.[41]
Hoc[42] expectat adhuc forsan locus urbis. Ut olim
De Cudo domina vaticinata fuit,
'Urbes tres video perituras. Prima natabit
Sanguine; nudatas altera reddet aves;
<73> Tertia nobilior, de qua plus tristor, habebit
Grana, sues, paleas, hec tria danda neci.'[43]
Urbe Biterrensi cruor ut fundatur habete.
Ut Carcassona cernite reddat aves.
Grana, sues, palee pretendant quid sibi nondum
Sentit Tholosa; sentiet illa tamen.
Pars Saturnini sancti suffragia sperat
Qui tauro mitis a truce tractus erat.[44]
Ecclesie primam vigilans exercitus ambit,[45]
Expulsat muros machina crebra suos;
Emittunt saxa cives, incendia, tela.
Ad partes ambas mors dominata volat.
Hic custoditur, sed per se vulgus in urbem
Densatur, cunctos vi ferit, ense furit.
Qui potuere mori moriuntur. Quelibet etas
Hic moritur, mortem sexus uterque subit,
Dum nulli parcit gladius. Medicina vagatur,
Dumque perit gladio cum lue pura caro,
Aras Ecclesie cruor altus inebriat, urbis
Per vicos torrens imbre rubente fluit.

37 For the Waldensians, see Book 2, n. 37.
38 Alaric II, king of the Visigoths, was defeated and killed by Clovis at the battle of Vouillé in 507. See Isidore of Seville, *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum,* ch. 36.
39 According to Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* 2.37, the walls of Angoulême miraculously collapsed at the sight of Clovis' religious devotion in 508. I can find no suggestion that this happened when Charlemagne took Toulouse, though Pseudo-Turpin tells the story about both Pamplona and Lucerna, Ps-T, 2-3.
40 Rubric in left margin, '*De rege Karolo ibi pugnante.*'
41 Read '*exitiale*' with Wright, not '*excitiale*' with MS.

rekindled, flourished among the dead ashes. The godless teaching of the Waldensian sect slithered secretly into Toulouse, having polluted the faith.

Here Alaric ruled over the Goths; Clovis drove them out by force to the depths of Hell. Angoulême saw its walls collapse at the arrival of the king and his manifest faith. Charlemagne thundered, and the walls of Toulouse fell on his arrival, with God knocking them over. His sword poured out waves of blood through the villages, and washed away the deadly miasma of that race (the Muslims). Perhaps the region around the city is still waiting for this to happen.

As Lady de Cudot once foretold, 'I see three cities which will be destroyed. The first will swim with blood; the second will render up its birds stripped of feathers; and <73> the third which is a more noble city, about which I grieve more, will have corn, pigs, straw, and these must all three be surrendered to death.' Bear in mind how blood was shed in the city of Béziers. Observe how Carcassonne is handing over its birds. Corn, pigs, straw – let them conceal what Toulouse does not yet feel; but feel it she will. Some hope for the prayers of gentle Saint Saturnin, who was dragged by a frenzied bull.

The watchful army of the Church surrounded the first city, and their incessant artillery pounded its walls. The citizens hurled rocks, firebrands and missiles. Overriding death swooped down on both sides. Here a guard was being maintained, but the rabble spontaneously thronged the city, and attacked everyone, and ran riot with weapons. Everyone capable of death was dying. People of all ages died here, both sexes were killed as the sword spared no-one. The surgical cleansing spread, and as healthy as well as diseased flesh was hacked away by the sword, the altars of the Church became drunk with the volume of blood, and the torrent flowed through the streets of the city in a shower of red.

42 Read '*Hoc*' for Wright's '*Hic,*' and in line 156, '*Cudo*' for '*cudo*'. This is a reference to Alpaise de Cudot (1150-1211), a holy mystic known to Philip II's first wife Isobel of Hainault, and mentioned by Vincent of Beauvais, 30.23. See Stein (1995), 91, nn. 80 & 81. John's comment relates to the continuing fears of the alleged heretics in Toulouse.

43 The prophecy relates to the fate of Béziers, Carcassonne and Toulouse in the Albigensian Crusade. John writes with the benefit of hindsight about Toulouse, finally reduced by scorched earth tactics in 1228.

44 Saint Saturninus (Saint Sernin), third century martyr and first bishop of Toulouse, dragged through the town by a bull, JdeM, 489-90.

45 Though well-fortified, Béziers was unexpectedly seized by the crusaders' camp-followers ('*vulgus*'). The townspeople had refused to identify the 'heretics' there, and were indiscriminately burned in two of the city's churches, and many others killed in the streets. For accounts of these events, see PVC, 84-91; WP, 13; *Cansó*, 16-23; Arnaud Aimery and Milo's official report, *PL*, 216, 137-141.

In altera[46] pacis prudens legatus pacem[47]
Constituit, partes fedus utrasque ligat.
Extra legato presente Rogerus ab urbe
Exit et ad pacem tendit utrasque manus.
Inplumes emittit aves, nudos[48] sine rebus
Carcassona viros. Spe volitante leves,
Armis dimissis, abiere per avia, vite
Munere contenti; nec rediere viri. [92r]
Hiis Cruce signati gestis ad propria tendunt;
Uxores, natos, rura, laresque[49] petunt.
Sed remanet Symon comes hiis Leycestius[50] horis,
Huius mons fortis de dicione fuit.[51]
Ecclesie sacre decreto sarculat herbas
Messibus Ecclesie que dominando nocent.
<74> Heretici clerum derident, iura relegant
Ecclesie, spernunt sacra, prophana colunt.
Quos capiunt mutilant, excecant, clam vel aperte
Occidunt; et in hoc se meruisse putant.
Sanctos pretendunt aliquos foris, intus abundat
Limus, et in limo pectoris Hidra latet.
Vis anime[52] cordi, cor lingue linguaque servit
Palme, palma facit, factio cuncta probat.
Si bona multa loquor, et multis devio sanctis,
Quid prodest? Hominem nobile salvat opus.
Flandria quem genuit vates studiosus Alanus[53]
Contudit hereticos, edomuitque prius.
Virgilio maior et Homero certior idem
Exauxit studii Parisiensis opes.
Crure suo leso populi venientis in arcto,[54]
Crus lesum posuit mox sibi thema suum,
'Dum Fortuna nocet, et adest Elegia, livor
De damno gaudet, de bonitate dolet.'

46 Read '*In altera*' for '*Interea,*' grammatically following the sequence from '*primam,*' in line 167, and '*legatus*' for '*legatio,*' both in MS and Wright. The original lines 171-74, now lines 179-82, clearly refer to Carcassonne, not Béziers, and have been transposed. This passage then makes perfect sense. This is a more satisfactory explanation than the view taken by earlier scholars, e.g Wright (1856), 158, that John had simply confused two such well-known events. This is a damning account of the siege of Béziers. There is an asterisk of uncertain date in the margin of new line 171, suggesting awareness of a textual problem.

47 For accounts of the capture of Carcassonne see PVC, 92-98, WP, 14, *Cansó*, 24-33. John fails to mention here that Raymond-Roger died in the custody of the crusaders shortly after he was seized in breach of his safe conduct. *DTE* 4.413-14 attributes the King of Aragon's military intervention to Raymond-Roger's death, but does not apportion blame. The legate was Arnaud Aimery, see line 73 and n. 15 above. John calls him '*prudens,*' perhaps an irony given the well-known breach of the truce. See *DTE*, 8, n. 187.

In the second city, the legate, well-versed in peace, established a truce, and the pact bound the two sides. In the presence of the legate outside, Roger left the city, and stretched out both his hands towards peace. Carcassonne expelled its men like featherless birds, naked men without their possessions. With fluttering hopes, they had no burdens as they abandoned their weapons and left through the open countryside, satisfied with the gift of life. These men did not return. After these achievements, the crusaders made for their own belongings, and sought out their wives, sons, lands and homes. But Count Simon of Leicester stayed behind in these times; he was in his own words the 'Mont fort'. By decision of the holy Church he hoed the weeds which by getting the upper hand were damaging the harvests of the Church.

<74> The heretics mocked the clergy, rejected the laws of the Church, despised holy things, and worshipped profanities. They mutilated the people they captured, blinded them, and killed them in private or openly, and believed themselves to have gained merit by so doing. They put themselves about as religious, but on the inside filth abounds, and in the mire of their breasts lurks a Hydra. The faculty of the soul serves the emotions, the emotions are servants of the tongue, the tongue serves the hand, and the hand performs the action. Action is the test of everything. If I speak of many good things, and stray from my theme through many holy digressions, what benefit does that bring? A high-minded work saves mankind.

That learned poet Alan of Lille, to whom Flanders gave birth, crushed the heretics, having first brought them to heel. Greater than Vergil and more to be trusted than Homer, he was a massive support to the community of scholars in Paris. When he injured his leg in the crush of a crowd coming towards him in a confined space, he soon turned his injured leg into his theme, 'When Fortune deals you a blow, and Elegia is by your side, malice takes pleasure in someone's loss, and feels pain at their good fortune.'

48 The consensus of surviving accounts is that the men were allowed only their shirts and breeches.

49 '*Lares*' / 'household gods' of the Romans is a proxy for 'home.' Most of the crusader army returned home after the fall of Carcassonne.

50 Simon de Montfort the elder, a relatively obscure French lord, assumed Raymond-Roger's titles and lands. His claim to the earldom of Leicester was upheld by King John in 1205, who nevertheless seized it in 1207. His claim was revived by Simon de Montfort the younger who was granted the title by Henry III in 1239.

51 John points out that Simon's name means 'strong mountain.'

52 '*Vis anime*' is a 'faculty of the soul,' a concept derived from Avicenna. Roland of Cremona, John's close colleague in Toulouse, devotes book 2 of his *Summa* to '*vires animae*.' See Hasse (2000), 36-42 on Roland's philosophical works. Roland also writes about human '*bona*.'

53 Rubric in right margin, '*De praedicatoribus et eorum persuasionibus contra hereticos*.' '*Alanus*' is Alan of Lille, see also Introduction, 4, 39, and *DTE,* Preface.1 & 8.40.

54 '*arcto,*' a variant of '*arto,*' 'a confined space.'

Conveniunt sacri doctores; silva recedit,
Et succedit ager, semina sparsa capit.
Parisius urbis quidam[55] commoverat istis
Doctor collectis saxea corda viris.
Dudum mollierant multos miracula, terror
Regum quos fervens duxit in arma fides.
Discordes fidei rex Constantinus[56] agebat
Ad mortem, reliquos pacificare studens.
Sancto Silvestro[57] presente iubebat Hebreos
Plenam si possent promere legis opem.
Bis sex electis conclusit papa magistris
Inter quos Zamri prefuit arte magus.
Indomiti tauri quidam distillat in aurem
Demonicum nomen; mors rapit ergo pecus.
Vivificare pecus rex nomine iussit eodem;
Non potuit. Tota clamat Hebrea manus,
<75> 'Nomine si Christi Silvester suscitet illud,
Christus baptismi nos renovabit aqua.'
Silvester prece premissa spe fervidus inquit,
'In Iesu Christi nomine surge pecus!'
Pacificus surgit taurus, nullique molestus
Armenti factus dux pius arva petit.
Gentiles simul Hebrei certamine magno
Gaudent baptismo se renovare sacro.
Philosophi duo Zenophilus Cratonque diserti,
Censores veri, crisma fidemque ferunt.[58] [92v]
Serpentem populi precibus Silvester in antro
Claudit, et ora ligat clausa vigore Crucis,
Ferali flatu Rome qui polluit urbem.
Expectat clauso iudicis ore diem.
Post, Constantinus regni diadema reliquit
Silvestro, retinens Dorica regna sibi.[59]
Romanus domitor Constantius[60] orbis Hiberi
Suscepit Britonum tradita regna sibi.
Regna Coel natamque suam concesserat illi,
Que claro cleri dogmate clara fuit.
Hec Constantinum peperit; pater hinc Eboraci
Decessit, nato dans ea regna suo.
Vi capiens Romam, factus fuit ille monarca
Mundi, quo Christi crevit in orbe fides.

55 This is an early reference to Élie Guerin, *DTE,* 5.271, who staffed the *studium* at Toulouse with Doctors from Paris in 1229. This passage strongly supports the view that John wrote it while teaching in Toulouse.

The reverend doctors (of theology) are gathering together; the forest is retreating, and cultivated land is taking its place, and accepting the seeds which have been sprinkled. A certain learned doctor of the city of Paris had gathered these men together and won over hearts of stone.

In the past miracles, and fear of kings, won round the hearts of many whom a burning faith drove to take up arms. King Constantine assailed men who were at odds with the faith right up to his death, striving to live in peace with the rest. In the presence of St. Sylvester he ordered the Jews to demonstrate the full power of their law. Twelve masters were appointed and the pope resolved the matter. Among them the sorcerer Zamri was supreme in his art. Someone whispered the name of a demon in the ear of an untamed bull; death swiftly carried off the beast. The king ordered him to bring the animal to life using the same name. He couldn't do it. The whole band of Jews cried out, <75> 'If Sylvester brings the beast to life by using Christ's name, Christ shall renew us with the water of baptism.' Sylvester said a prayer first, and passionate with hope he called out, 'Beast, arise in Jesus Christ's name!' The bull calmly rose to its feet, and doing no harm to anyone became the revered leader of the herd and headed off to pasture. The Jews instantly became gentiles as a result of this epic trial of strength, and rejoiced at their renewal through holy baptism. Two learned philosophers, Zenophilus and Crato, arbiters of the facts, brought the chrism and the faith. In response to the prayers of the people, Sylvester locked in a cave a serpent which had made the city of Rome foul with its untamed breath, and by the power of the Cross tied together its jaws. It awaits the Day of Judgment with sealed jaws. Afterwards Constantine bequeathed the crown of his kingdom to Sylvester, and kept his Greek dominions for himself.

Constantius, Roman tamer of the northern tracts, assumed the realms of the Britoni, which were given to him. Coel had granted his kingdoms and his daughter to him. She was outstanding in the clear doctrine of the clergy. Helena gave birth to Constantine. His father then died at York, passing his British realms to his son. Constantine seized Rome, and became emperor of the world, through whom

56 The Emperor Constantine.

57 St. (Pope) Sylvester (314-35). John's account of these 'miracles' is a much abbreviated version of JdeM 64-66.

58 This reference is to Constantine's conversion to Christianity, and the origin of the tradition of anointing kings with chrism. See *DTE* 2.70 & n.15 in relation to Louis IX.

59 See also *DTE* 2.183-84 & n. 50 for this further reference to the 'Donation of Constantine.' Its contemporary relevance lay in the fact that it legitimized the papacy in its temporal power in Rome and the West. John takes an expansive view of its extent.

60 Constantius I, Roman emperor 293-306. According to GM, 78, he inherited the kingdom of King Coel of the Britoni and married his daughter Helena, Constantine's mother.

Sancta parens Helena regis, Cruce leta reperta
Ierusalem, sacram sic probat esse Crucem.
Languens extremis mulier contacta duabus
Non surgit cruculis, sed Cruce tacta Dei.[61]
Quis regum vel que dominarum maxima mundi
Tanto mirifice fervet amore Crucis?
Fervet avaritie dominante cupidine pectus
In multis, fervet insatiata sitis.
Christum siquis amat, armet Cruce pectus; ad istam
Vocem concurrunt ad Crucis arma probi.[62]
<76> Pravis rex Sabaoth pedites opponit et armat.
Qui cordis carnem cordaque lege ligant[63],
Opponit pedites alios, quorum bene quisque
Predicat et verbi militat ense sacri.
Adiuvat hos ferri gladius gladiare tot hostes,
Quos poterunt gladii vix resecare duo.
Quicquid silvescit secat ensis, doctus arator
Divini verbi vomere sulcat humum.
Stirpes distortos, sterilesque vorax domat ignis,
Radicesque malas indomitasque cremat.[64]
Mira Dei poscit vulgaris opinio, gentem[65]
Mittit in hanc miseram summa flagella[66] Deus.
Hiis igitur dixi, 'Quid vos movet?[67] Unde furoris
Horribilis stimulus? Unde ruina mali?
Est Deus in sanctis mirabilis; ergo videte,
Mentis discussa nocte notate diem.'[68]
Proximus a Christo Stephanus protomartir Olympum
Per lapidem meruit martiriique stolam.[69]
Corpora sanctorum fulgebunt, fortia, sana,
Libera, pulchra, cita, letaque semper erunt.[70]
Sensus, amicitia, concordia, plena potestas,
Pax, honor, hec dotes sex animabus[71] erunt.
Sanctus Silvester obstruxerat ora draconis
Rome, clavigeri iussa sequendo Petri.[72]

61 On the Legend of the Finding of the Cross (*Inventio Crucis*) by Helena, mother of the Emperor, see Baert (2004), 15-53. It was first recorded by Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii, PL.* 16, col. 1400.
62 i.e. by becoming crusaders / *Crucesignati.*
63 *N.b* the play on words, '*cordis*' / '*corda.*'
64 Rubric in left margin '*De miraculis Dei pro sanctis, non pro hereticis.*'
65 The heretics.
66 '*summa flagella,*' i.e. his best preachers.
67 Anselm, *Oratio X, ad Sanctum Paulum*.
68 John notes elsewhere that the Cathars ignore saints' days, *DTE*, 5.93.

the faith of Christ grew throughout the world. The emperor's saintly mother, Helena, joyful at the discovery of a cross in Jerusalem, proved it to be the Holy Cross in this way; a woman lying sick in her final moments did not stand up when she was touched by two other crosses, but she did when she was touched by the Cross of God.

Which mighty king or queen anywhere in the world burns with such a passion for the miracle-working Cross? The breasts of many seethe with greed, overcome by lust, and the longing seethes unsatisfied. If anyone loves Christ, let him arm his breast with the Cross; it is in response to this word that men of honour flock to the armed service of the Cross. <76> The king of Sabaoth deploys and arms them as his foot-soldiers against the wicked. Those who bind their flesh with ropes and their hearts with the law, he deploys as a different kind of foot-soldier. Every one of them is a good preacher and fights with the sword of the holy word. The steel blade helps them to put to the sword enemies so numerous that the two kinds of sword will scarcely be able to cut them back. The sword hacks away the plants which run wild, the learned ploughman tills the earth with the ploughshare of the holy word. Devouring fire suppresses the misshapen and infertile stock, and burns its evil, wild roots.

The mood of the mob requires God's miracles, and God sends his most effective flails against this benighted clan. To them therefore I say, 'What is your driving force? What goads on your awful frenzy? Whence will come the downfall of this evil? God reveals his miracles through the saints, so look to it, shatter the nocturnal darkness of your minds, and give due observance to their day.'

The first martyr, Stephen, is next to Christ, and has earned his lofty place through his stoning and the cloak of his martyrdom. The bodies of the saints will shine, and will be forever courageous, healthy, free, beautiful, vital and joyful. Their souls will have these six gifts, sensibility, friendship, harmony, complete power, peace and honour.

Saint Sylvester sealed the jaws of the dragon following the instructions of Peter, keeper of the keys.

69 St. Stephen is commemorated on 26 December, the day after Christmas. For the stoning of Stephen, see Acts. 7.57. Members of the crowd stoning him placed their cloaks at the feet of Saul (Paul).

70 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Contemptu Mundi,* 1.55-56,*'Pulchra, citissima, fortia, libera, deliciosa / sana, vigentia…'*

71 *'animabus,'* form used only in later Latin. Lines 279-82 are closely based on Hostiensis, *Summa Aurea, De penitentiis et remissionibus,* 5.47.

72 Lines 283-84 might be misplaced from following line 239, but more likely are a brief recapitulation because Sylvester's saint's day, 31 December, is also close to Christmas. Sylvester rid Rome of a dragon following St. Peter's instructions, JdeM, 65.

Victricis virtute Crucis sunt mira peracta,
Confirmantque fidem sanctam stupenda sacram. [93r]
Mortuus et vivus Leonardus vincula sanctus
Dempsit captivis, eripuitque viros.[73]
Christoforus vincit flammas, vincitque sagittas
Vincit probra, minas, sed gladiatus obit.[74]
Lycia non verbis hunc blandis non Aquilina
Flexit, sed credens utraque martir erat.
Vir dominam celi monstraverat esse Mariam,
Iunonem Samiam demonis esse genus.
<77> Inclite Vincenti, victor terraque marique,
Te Deus exaltat, arida, pontus, avis.[75]
Portator capitis Dionysius innuit intus[76]
Se portasse Deum, se placuisse Deo.
Exsectum caput Edmundi clamaverat, ‘ Her! Her!’[77]
Hic, hic sum’, capitis vox sonat illa gravis;
‘Christi centenos trahis in bis quatuor annos
Dans septem decies, rex cadit ense,’ dico.[78]
Sancto Ieronimo leo trux, monarcha ferarum,
Servivit, pecoris spesque fidesque sui.[79]
Kentegernus homo sanctus pro semine terram
Dispersit terre, terraque farra dedit.[80]
Silvestres aratro cervos coniunxit at unum
Illorum rapuit enecuitque lupa.
Cum cervo remanente lupam vir vinxit, et ambos
Terre cultores fecerat esse novos.
Egidium cerva sanctum silvestris alebat[81]
Cui lac submisso poplite prona dabat.
Cuthbertus gelida venerem domitaverat unda,[82]
Quem tersit cauda bestia missa Deo.
Pavit Franciscus volucrum ieiunia sanctus[83]
Dum sparsit verbi semina larga sacri.
Sexu debilior pia Margareta draconem[84]
Vicit, quem fregit fortis agone Crucis.

73 St. Leonard freed numerous captives miraculously in Clovis’ time, JdeM, 431-35.

74 Traditionally, St. Christopher was martyred in Lycia in the third century. He was said to have converted two prostitutes, Niceta / Kallinike and Aquilina, sent to tempt him. Both died as martyrs, JdeM, 258-59. Wright does not treat ‘*aquilina*’ as a proper name.

75 St. Vincent, another third century martyr. The emperor Dacian was unable to dispose of his body, which a huge crow rescued from a wolf, JdeM, 106-07.

76 St. Denis / Dionysius, third century martyr and bishop of Paris, believed to have carried his own head, JdeM, 429.

Miracles are performed through the excellence of the victorious Cross, and these amazing things confirm that the faith of saints is holy.

Both dead and alive Saint Leonard spirited the shackles off captives, and rescued them. Christopher defeated flames, defeated arrows, defeated insults and threats, but died by the sword. Neither Lycia nor Aquilina could seduce him by honeyed words, but each of them believed and was a martyr. He had shown that Mary is queen of Heaven, and that Juno of the Samians is a kind of demon. <77> Great Vincent, triumphant on land and sea, God lifted you up, and so did the dry land, the sea, and a bird. Dionysius, carrying his own head, nodded that he had carried God inside him and had pleased God. Edmund's severed head had called out, 'Hello! Hello! I'm here! Here I am', boomed a deep voice from the head; 'I declare that eight hundred and seventy years after Christ's birth, a king dies by the sword.' A fierce lion, king of the beasts, fawned before St. Jerome, source of hope and faith to Jerome's flock.

Saint Kentigern sprinkled earth on the earth as seed, and the earth gave a crop of grain. He harnessed two wild stags to his plough, but a she-wolf seized one of them and killed it. A [mere] man, he harnessed the she-wolf with the remaining stag and turned the pair of them into tillers of the soil. A wild doe reared St. Giles, and suckled him lying on her front with bended knee. St. Cuthbert tamed lust by the icy waves, and a beast sent by God dried him with its tail. St. Francis fed the hungry birds, as he sprinkled widely the seeds of the holy word. The pious Margaret, though weaker because of her sex, vanquished a dragon, which she bravely destroyed through her suffering on the Cross. A lion strove with his claw

77 St. Edmund the Martyr, king of East Anglia 855-869, object of the cult of St. Edmund at Bury. His severed head was reputedly found calling out from a wolf's paws. See also *DTE,* 7.185-208; *CM,* 1.400.

78 Read '*dico*' with MS '*dco*', rather than Wright's 'Deo,' and re-punctuate.

79 St. Jerome, third to fourth century Church father, frequently portrayed with a lion, having reputedly removed a thorn from its foot. Following this the lion lived in the monastery, guarding its donkey, thus offering spiritual inspiration, JdeM, 415-16.

80 Also known as St. Mungo, sixth to seventh century Scottish saint. This relates to Kentigern's miraculous resuscitation of a baker by sprinkling earth from his grave on the ground. This episode is described in Jocelin of Furness' life of Kentigern, ch. 7.

81 St. Giles, eighth century hermit, whose cult was popular in Provence, JdeM, 364.

82 St. Cuthbert, seventh century Northumbrian monk. He reputedly immersed himself in the sea every night, and was licked dry by two otters, Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti,* 10.

83 St. Francis of Assisi (1181/2-1226). Francis was canonised in 1228. There are many legends about St. Francis' communication with birds, e.g. Peter of Celano, *Tractatus de Miraculis S. Francisci*, 4.20 (written in 1230).

84 St. Margaret, virgin and martyr, executed in Antioch *c.* 304. She was allegedly about to be swallowed by the devil in the form of a dragon, but he recoiled seeing the Cross, JdeM, 233.

Ungue leo Phariam studuit sepelire Mariam;[85]
Mansit in officio trux fera blanda pio.
Delet aperta graves Genovefe gratia pestes,[86]
Sicut Parisius sepe videre licet.
Sanctorum meritis defunctis est data vita
Et virtus egris officiosa redit.
Que, quot, quanta, quibus pro sanctis mira coruscant
Sub certo numero non recitare queo.
Emollire malos nequeunt miracula Christi
Que pro matre sua Virgine sepe facit.
<78> Nec reticere volo nec possum quod mihi vere
Contigit ad laudem, Virgo beata, tuam.
Ardens Parisius bene Bernardus[87] bonitatem
Ardendi[88] monstrat deficiente fide.
Sectas hereticas et turres turbo procelle[89]
Altas incussit, precipitesque dedit.
Sustulit a terra me ventus in aëra, sed vox[90]
Tunc mea mota maris stella[91] canebat 'Ave!' [93v]
Felix porta poli dum dixi me levis aër
Ad terram posuit stansque canensque fui.
Hiis aliisque bonis tibi laus, tibi gloria, Virgo,
Permaneat perpes palma, perennis honor.
Sic ergo nec supplicium nec mira remulcent
Hereticos, qui ferrea corda ferunt.
Eloquii[92] video male fundamenta labare;
Inscius hereticas incoat inde vias.[93]
Verba poetarum laudo, sed destruo sectas
In quibus erroris semita curva latet.
Vecta giganteis humeris, gens nana moderna[94]
Perspicuis oculis ulteriora videt.
Ad nostram dicta doctrinam carmina cuncta
Paulus ait; Pauli verba fidemque sequar.
Non mala vitantur nisi cognita;[95] post mala nota
Grata magis Christi vera sophia placet.

85 St. Mary the Egyptian, patron of penitents. A lion helped St. Zosimas to bury her, JdeM, 518.

86 St. Geneviève, a 3-4th century nun, for whom Clovis I established a convent. She miraculously overcame a serious illness, JdeM, 170-72. Her relics were housed in Paris, of which she is patron saint. They were carried in procession there and believed to have halted an epidemic in 1129. This tradition continued.

87 St. Bernard of Clairvaux, 1090-1153. John refers to Bernard's vigorously critical visit to the Paris schools in 1139, see Ferruolo (1985), 47-49. St Bernard successfully attacked heretical sects in a preaching visit to Languedoc in 1145-46. John cites Bernard as a role model for his own onslaught on heresy. John quotes St. Bernard several times.

to bury Mary of Egypt; the ferocious beast stayed docile as it performed this pious duty. When Genevieve's grace was displayed, it brought a severe plague to an end, as Paris can often observe.

Through the worthy deeds of the saints life is granted to the dead, and healthy piety returns to the sick. Beyond a certain number I lack the capacity to catalogue which, how many and how great miracles shine forth from which saints.

The miracles which Christ often performs on behalf of the Virgin, His mother, cannot win over evil men. <78> But I am neither willing nor able to pass over in silence my true feelings regarding your praise, blessed Virgin. Zealous Bernard well illustrates the value of zeal when the faith was wavering in Paris. The eye of a storm struck the heretic sects and their lofty towers, and sent them tumbling down.

The wind lifted me from the earth into the air, but at the same time my voice, inspired, was singing, 'Hail, Star of the Sea!' As I spoke, joyous at the gateway to the sky, a light breeze put me back on land and I was standing there singing. Virgin, praise and glory to you for these and other gifts. May your victory endure for ever, and your honour in perpetuity.

Thus neither punishment nor miracles calm down the heretics, who have hearts of iron. I see the foundations of eloquence crumbling badly; it is from here that the ignorant man sets off down heretical paths. I am full of praise for the words of (the ancient) poets, but I attack schools of thought where the warped track of error lies concealed. The pygmy race of modern times is borne on the shoulders of giants, and with clear eyes sees the future. Paul says that all the verses he spoke were for our instruction. I shall follow his words and his faith. Evils cannot be

88 The scribe has deleted a redundant '*di*' after '*ardendi.*'

89 '*turbo procelle,*' Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Martini,* 3.484. See also *DTE,* 5.51.

90 Lines 335-40 are an invocation of the Virgin Mary, awkwardly introduced here.

91 Mary is still known as '*Stella maris.*'

92 Rubric in left margin, '*De malis ignorantie.*' Read '*eloquii*' with MS, for Wright's '*eloquiis.*' John rails at contemporary neglect of the *trivium.*

93 Read '*inscius*' with text, not Wright's '*insciis.*' Repunctuate accordingly. Rubric in left margin, '*De malis ignorantie.*'

94 A commonplace, first attributed to Bernard of Chartres by John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 3.4, '*quasi nanos gigantium humeris insidentes*' / 'like dwarves siting on the shoulders of giants'. '*Ulteriora*' may mean 'the future,' but could also mean 'the past.'

95 *CC,* 308, '*Non mala vitantur nisi cognita,*' John uses the same phrase to caution readers against the errors of rival grammarians.

Non sunt calcandi porcorum calce saphiri;[96]
Alliciant iuvenes vatica dicta prius.
Scrutantes verum sibi defecere vetusti
Sed sub nube tamen exseruere viam.
Illis debentur laudes, gratesque merentur,
Quos ignorantes detinet umbra Stigis.
Tullius eloquio probus, et Maro maximus, artem[97]
Eloquii dederant quos imitamur. In hoc
Sunt bene credentes hodie, sed fallit in arte
Multos barbaries[98], garrulitasque nova.[99]
<79> Excrescit fatua ficus, ficulnea mundi,
Quam paris, hanc urit flamma, gehenna cremat.
Latrantesque aves direpta cadavera rostris
Asportant, animas nigra caterva legit.[100]
Vitis amara nimis, quam primus amaricat hostis,
Qui vindemiat hanc cum legione sua.
Per partes Rome, per Gallica regna, per omnem
Spargitur Ecclesiam que nocet herba latens.
Messor celestis dispersas colligit uvas
Et spicas raras huius in orbis agro.
In firmamenti centro pars parvula mittit[101]
Fructum. Tu centri percipe quinque plagas.
Nostra tenet gentes habitabilis equora, silvas
Rupes. Est minima parte beata seges.
Est corrupta tamen gentilibus hec segetella,
Et Sarracenis hereticisque feris.
Partis pars alia sterilis perit; Africa tota
Desipit; Europe pars tenet una fidem
Sunt hac parte tamen mechi, fures et avari,
Et mercatores artificesque mali.
Hereticus peior cunctis; velut Hidra venenum
Fundit in occulto, vulnera dente gerit.
Iustitie meritum, virtutis premia, culpe
Flagra, creatoris nobile posse negat. [94r]
Ergo concurrunt in eum tormenta gehenne
Ultio nature mirificique Dei.
Ad quid Iudeos referam quos sorbet Avernus,
Divinam legem qui sine lege legunt?[102]

96 An early version of 'casting pearls before swine.'
97 Marcus Tullius Cicero and Publius Vergilius Maro, acknowledged by John as excelling in rhetoric and epic poetry respectively.
98 '*barbaries*' or '*barbarismus*' denotes errors of e.g. spelling or pronunciation.

avoided unless we know them. Once evils are known, the true wisdom of Christ is all the more welcome. Sapphires are not for trampling under the feet of swine; first let the words of the old poets seduce our young men. The men of old failed in their search for the truth, but they all the same showed a way forward, albeit surrounded in cloud. Praise is owed to them, and thanks are deserved, though because of their ignorance [of Christianity] Stygian shade holds them captive. Cicero, a prince of eloquence, and Vergil, greatest of all, whom we copy, had given us the art of eloquence.

These days there are people who place a strong trust in eloquence, but faulty teaching and the wordiness of our times deceive many of them in their art. <79> Flames consume and hell-fire reduces to ashes this word-stuffed fruit which is bursting out and which you are creating, fig-tree of sophistication. Cawing birds rip bodies with their beaks and carry them away, and the black battalions pick over souls. This vine yields too bitter fruit, which the old enemy first poisoned, and harvests the vintage with his legions. This harmful, hidden weed is spreading throughout the lands of Rome, the realms of France and the whole Church.

The Heavenly harvester collects up the scattered grapes and the few ears of corn in the soil of this earth. In the centre of the firmament a very small part yields fruit. Reader, observe the five zones of this central area. Our habitable world contains peoples, seas, forests, and rocks; and the blessed crop [Christians] occupy the smallest part. And even this little crop is befouled by pagans, by Saracens, and by rabid heretics. Another portion of the habitable part is dead because it is barren; the whole of Africa is without intelligence; one part of Europe keeps the faith. But even in this part there are adulterers, thieves and misers, and merchants and doers of evil. The heretic is worst of all; like the Hydra he secretly pours out his poison, and inflicts wounds with his teeth. He denies the merits of justice, the rewards of virtue, the scourges of guilt, the princely power of the Creator. And that is why the torments of hell converge upon him, the vengeance of nature and of a miracle-working God.

With what am I to compare the Jews, whom hell sucks in, who illegally purloin the divine law? Alas! How many will the Devil win round to his service by a spell,

99 Gloss in left margin, '*De morte hereticorum mala.*' See Haskins (1902), who sees this as a reference to the literal burning of heretics as a punishment. John's readers would have understood the untranslatable pun in line 363, especially in the context of the previous line. '*Ficus*' / 'fig'could mean 'piles' or 'haemorrhoids'. '*Cum dixi ficus, rides quasi barbara verba*' / 'When I mentioned piles, you laugh as if I'm using foreign words' (Martial 1.65)

100 Statius, *Theb.*,12.111.

101 Rubric in left margin, '*De philosophica consideratione pro paucitate Christianorum respectu aliarum gentium.*' John shifts his theme, but continues his horticultural metaphor.

102 An extraordinary claim, considering the origin of the Old Testament.

Heu quot Leviatan sibi iunget carmine, penis[103]
Blanditiis, bellis, munere, fraude, minis?
Obstabunt Enoc et Helyas quos tamen ipse
Impius occidet; neuter inultus erit.[104]
Ultio fulmen erit prius, et post flamma Gehenne,
Quam tempestabit tota procella Stigis.
<80> Ierusalem templum Iulianus apostata cogit[105]
Condere Iudeos, sed vorat ignis eos.
Fundamenta iacent operis dispersa, fidemque
Multi confessi signa Deumque timent.
Vestibus illorum sacra Crux in nocte sequenti
Est inventa quibus est data firma fides.[106]
Hec docuere sequi regis vexilla superni,[107]
Ecclesie turmas conspicuosque duces.
Impia magnates iniuste bella moventes
Ad Stiga quando cadunt, agmina multa trahunt
Heu quia tot pereunt! Hec est elegia summa,
Nulla dies miseros quod revocare potest.
Tempore iudicis surgent, sed iudice viso
Tantum damnandis pro Stige terror erit.
Tholose princeps Aragonica regna movebat[108]
Regis et auxilium fecit adesse sibi.
Cur? Quia cognatum comitis necuere Rogerum[109]
Damna, pudor, carcer, ira, dieta, dolor.
Castro Murelli[110] Symon circumdatur, illic
Divinam suplex turmula poscit opem.
Quisquis in aurora suscepto corpore Christi,
Post missam firmus induit arma sua.
Pars exit simulando fugam, pars se tenet intus;
Exclusis vera creditur esse fuga.
Clamant exclusi, 'Nunc, nunc properate, recedunt
Hostes! Post tergum sentiat arma fugax!'
Dimisso campo, post hostem curritur, et rex

103 Rubric in right margin, '*De Antichristo*.'

104 Enoch and Elijah. One tradition is that they are to be the two witnesses of the Apocalypse, Rev. 11, 3, on the basis that they were each admitted to heaven without having died. Rev. 1, 7 reveals the witnesses' death. The devil would be finally entombed for a thousand years, Rev. 20, 7.

105 Julian the Apostate, see *DTE* 1. 407-14, and n. 153. Julian ordered the Jews to rebuild the Temple in 363, but according to Ammelinus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 23.3, rebuilding efforts were prevented by mysterious fireballs, variously explained. Julian was seeking to provide alternatives to Christianity. This whole story is virtually a précis of *Golden Legend*, 125.

106 This long digression, lines 199-404, finally ends, and John returns to the Albigensian Crusade. He passes over events of 1209-1213, confining his coverage to detailed accounts of the sieges of Béziers and Carcassonne (1209), Muret (1213), and the second siege of Toulouse (1218), undoubtedly the highlights of the long campaign.

punishments, enticements, wars, reward, deception, threats? But Enoch and Elijah will stand in his way, and though the impious one will kill them, neither will remain unavenged. First the lightning bolt will avenge them, then the flames of hell, which the whole storm of the Styx will whip into ruin.

<80> Julian the Apostate forced the Jews to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, but fire devoured them. The foundations of the work lay scattered, and many who had confessed the faith were fearful of these signs from God. The following night the holy Cross was found on the clothes of those to whom firm faith had been granted.

These stories taught us to follow the banners of the supreme King, the battalions of the Church, and its glorious leaders. When the nobles who unjustly cause unholy wars fall into Stygian darkness, they drag many battalions in with them. Alas! that so many die, and this is the burden of my elegy: that the day will never come which can summon these unhappy men back. They will rise again on the Day of Judgment, but once they have seen the judge, in place of darkness only terror will await those who are to be condemned.

The Count of Toulouse mobilised the kingdom of Aragon, and secured help from its king. Why? Because losses, shame, imprisonment, anger, starvation and pain had killed the count's kinsman, Roger. Simon was surrounded in the town of Muret, and his small army sought God's help there on their knees. Everyone who had taken communion at dawn resolutely armed himself after mass. Some left the town feigning flight, others stayed inside. To those locked outside it looked like a genuine retreat. They shouted, 'Now go forward, the enemy are retreating, let

107 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vexilla regis,* 1-2, '*Vexilla Regis prodeunt, / fulget Crucis mysterium.*' See Gaposchkin (2017), 56 & n. 156.

108 Rubric in right margin, '*De bello comitis Montis fortis apud Murellum.*'

109 Raymond-Roger, his son-in-law.

110 At the battle of Muret, 12 September, 1213, in the outskirts of Toulouse, Simon de Montfort, heavily outnumbered, decisively defeated forces supporting Raymond VI. Peter II, king of Aragon was killed, and Raymond fled. For other accounts of the battle, see PVC, 446-66, and 469-83 (the widely-distributed letter sent from the Southern bishops immediately after the battle), Cansó.135-41, WP. 20-21. These accounts suggest more of a pitched battle, though WP describes the same diversionary tactic by the crusaders as John. For analysis of the different accounts, see Roquebert (1970-89), 2, 421-39.

Aragonum solus pene resistit ibi.
Symon cum paucis audax ad bella retentis
Exit, et invadit regia castra suis.
Pugnat ibi virtus altissima; non tuba clangit,
Non strepitat fastus, non vaga pompa volat,
Et tamen hic fastus regis descendit, et alta
Pompa cadit, fastu[111] rege cadente suo.
<81> Est necis incertus autor, sed clamor in astra
Tollitur, 'Occiso rege, parate fugam.'
Qui finxere fugam conversa fronte relidunt
Hostes et mactant hos, aliosque fugant.
Conveniunt partes. Symon conformis Achilli
Quos agitat campis fluminis urget aquis. [94v]
Xancto Pelides, Ysmeno flumine pugnat
Hypomedon;[112] valido vivit uterque viro.
Hic infinitos equites vicere trecenti,
Cede fluunt fosse, sanguine rura natant.
Stant campis vacua tentoria, cornipedesque
Discurrunt, prede purpura vasa patent.
Nunc ad aquas, nunc ad campos discursus habetur.
Est in aquis, campis nulla recepta salus.
Expuit hos aër, aqua devorat, ignis abhorret,
Detestatur humus qui meruere mala.
Polluerant elementa Dei; quos ipsa receptant
Et simul eiciunt, dantque negantque locum.
Quippe Creatoris in Virgine mira negantes,
Spreta lege,[113] suum diminuere decus.
Sunt de Tholosa ter[114] milia quinque necata
Corpora, sed reliqua non numerare licet.
Tholosam veniunt sine nave cadavera cursu
Fluminis, et tollunt corpora densa initus.[115]
Hec plangunt patres, hec natos, hecque maritos,
Hec fratres, sulcunt ungue rigente genas.[116]
Crines avellunt; et planctibus ethera pulsant.
Cum pueris damnant bella cruenta senes.
Sed non hereticum virum pepulere dolore
Tanto. Sed quidam crebrius arma gerunt,
Quidam diffugiunt iusti, quidamque morantur
Inviti. Quosdam detinet urbis amor.

111 Because he defied custom by fighting in the second rather than the hindmost rank, wearing anonymous armour (PVC, 463 and Sibly & Sibly trans. n. 46, p. 211), and by ignoring Raymond's advice to stay put in his camp. WP, 21, however, says the king's standard was clearly visible. In the previous chapter WP says Simon read out a letter in which Peter boasts of having come to Toulouse in pursuit of a local lady, partially confirmed by *Llibre dels Fets,* 9. John ignores this story. Matthew Paris'

them feel our weapons behind them as they flee!' They left the plain, and rushed after the enemy, and the King of Aragon was almost alone in his resistance there. Simon boldly left [the town] with a small force held back for battle, and attacked the royal camp with his forces. There the highest courage was seen in battle. There was no fanfare of trumpets, no vaunting arrogance, no train of courtiers flitting around. And yet here the king's pride was deflated, and his lofty style was laid low, as he died through his own arrogance. <81> We do not know who killed the king, but a cry rose to the sky, 'The king is killed, Prepare to flee.' The enemy who had feigned flight turned round and struck back, and slaughtered some, routed the rest. The two sides came to grips and Simon, just like Achilles, harried in the waters of the river those whom he was driving from the fields. Achilles fought in the River Xanctus and Hypomedon in the Ismenus; each thrived in the clinging mud. Here three hundred knights vanquished an innumerable host, the ditches flowed with slaughter, the countryside swam with blood. The tents stood empty in the fields, the war-horses ran around, and the king's royal baggage lay ripe to plunder.

They scrambled to the marshes, then to the fields. There was no safe place in the water or the fields. The air spat them out, the water swallowed them up, the fire shrank back from them, the earth abominated these men who had brought down evil upon themselves. They had polluted God's elements, which accepted them only to reject them at the same time, and both offered and denied room for them. Indeed, in denying the miracles of the Creator through the Virgin, and treating the (Church's) law with disdain, they undermined their own reputations. There were fifteen thousand dead bodies from Toulouse, but you could not count the rest. The corpses reached Toulouse without a ship, by the current of the river, and the points where the river entered the city supported a mass of bodies. Some women mourned fathers, some sons, some husbands, some brothers. They raked their cheeks with sharp nails and tore their hair. The Heavens resounded with their wailing. Old men and boys rail at the bloody wars. But they did not drive out the venom of heresy through such great pain. Some fought on even more intensely, some righteous men fled, some were unwillingly delayed, love of the city held some back.

account is based on the bishops' letter, but as an example of Peter's arrogance he reports that he was sitting down to eat as fighting began (*CM*, 2.568).

112 In classical mythology, Achilles, son of Peleus, fought the River Xanthos itself, and Hypomedon fought by the River Ismenus, outside Thebes.

113 Because Peter II contravened the pope's instructions to break with Toulouse, PVC, 441.

114 Read '*ter*' for Wright's '*tibi*.' For the number of 15,000 dead from Toulouse, see WP, 21. PVC, 466 suggests that around 20,000 died.

115 Read '*initus*' for Wright's '*nutus*,' with sense. MS could be read either way. John paints a dramatic picture of corpses stuck around the piers of the bridge at Toulouse.

116 Read '*hec*' with MS for Wright's more grammatical '*hae*' in all four instances.

Rex iacet extorris, solus, disertus, inermis,[117]
Nudus, vulneribus plenus, honore carens.
<82> Tholose positus, tandem transfertur ad oras
Aragonum, papa patre favente patrum.[118]
Quem[119] formidavit quondam Kartaginis alte
Rex victus, sacre dans sua terga Cruci,
Quando cruentatis Libicos Hispania campis
Vicit, et afflictus Marte tirannus erat.[120]
Hic stabulum fedis pedibus promisit equorum
Ecclesiam sacram, martia Roma, tuam.
Qui strator quondam fuerat modo stratus habetur,
Aragonum ducunt sic quia fata ducem.
Strati successor Maiorica menia cepit,
Et Sarracenos, eraque, marmor, ebur.
Aragones dominos ut fertilis insula sensit,
Victor adoratus est crucifixus ibi.[121]
Hoc est exemplum; victor sub nomine Christi
Quisquis erit, contra victus, inermis erit.[122]
Pauperis in specie Remundus ab aggere campi
Effugit, et Symon alta trophea gerit.
Non tamen hiis damnis timuit Tholosa cruentas[123]
Victori vires opposuisse suas,
Donec in adventu Ludovici menia fracta
Descendunt, pacis conditione tamen.[124] [95r]
Bis Ludovicus ibi fuerat; tamen ille secundo
Exclusus vastans proxima monte stetit.
Mauleo cui nomen fuerat Savaricus ab urbe[125]
Exit et ut dominum te, Ludovice, petit.
Se nummis sumptis invadere dixerat hostes
Quos sibi vulpina pacificarat ope.
Consilium capiens redit inde Philippica proles
Ne frustra patrias attenuaret opes.[126]

117 Rubric in left margin, '*De morte regis Aragonie,*' On Peter, cp.*CG,* 4.1129, '*inglorius et relictus*' / 'disgraced and abandoned'.

118 The king's body was repatriated in 1217, after an appeal to Pope Honorius III, Roquebert (1970-89), 2, 234.

119 Read '*quem,*' with MS, rather than Wright's '*qui.*'

120 Peter II took part in the Christian army on 18 July 1212 at the battle of Las Navas di Tolosa, at which the Almohad Caliph Muhammad al-Nasir was decisively defeated. John also praises his victories over the Muslims in *CG*, 4.1126-28.

121 James I of Aragon reconquered Majorca in 1229-30.

122 Ovid, *Amores,* 1.2.22 '*Nec tibi laus armis victus inermis ero.*' Wright's punctuation is changed.

The king lay, exiled, alone, deserted, weaponless, naked, riddled with wounds, bereft of honour. <82> He was laid out for burial in Toulouse, and eventually taken to Aragon's shores, with the agreement of the pope, father of fathers. He was the man whom in the past the king of proud Carthage had feared in defeat, turning his back on the holy Cross, when Spain conquered the Libyans on its blood-soaked plains, and the tyrant was struck down in war–this tyrant who offered your holy Church, oh warrior Rome, as a stable for the stinking feet of his horses. He who had once laid [cities] low was now himself laid low, because that was the direction in which the fates led the leader of Aragon. His successor [James I] captured the battlements of Majorca, along with the Saracens, and their bronze, marble and ivory. When that fertile island realised that the Aragonese were its masters, the crucified victorious [Lord] was worshipped there. This shows that whenever victory comes in the name of Christ, whoever opposes is defenceless once conquered.

Disguised as a poor man, Raymond escaped from the dyke around the field, and Simon won a noble victory. But despite these losses Toulouse was not afraid to place its blood-thirsty forces in the path of the victor, until at the arrival of Louis (IX) they dismantled their shattered walls, but only as one of the terms of peace. Louis (VIII) was there twice, and the second time he was locked out, and remained on a hill ravaging the neighbourhood. [Lord] Mauléon, who had been named Savaric, had come out from the city and sought you out, Louis, as his lord. He had said that he was making inroads into their enemies by spending small change, and had reconciled them to him by cunning means. Taking his counsel, Philip's son [Louis VIII] went away, not wanting to waste his father's means to no avail.

123 Ussher (1613), 344-49 , 361, 367, and 377-80, quotes extensively from Books 4 and 5. Tanner (1748), 309-10 is the only other direct reference to this poem before Wright's work. See Introduction, 2, 33 & n. 12, *DTE*, 7, n. 91.

124 Prince Louis (later Louis VIII) required Toulouse to demolish its walls in 1215, on his first expedition against the city. They were swiftly rebuilt.When he was next there, in 1219, he invested it for six weeks before abruptly leaving. The walls were finally razed under the Treaty of Paris (1229).

125 Savary de Mauléon (*c.* 1181-1233) was a Poitevin magnate. Captured by King John at Mirebeau (1202), Savary declared loyalty to him in 1203 on release. As John's seneschal for Poitou (1205-12) he supported Raymond VI in the early stages of the Albigensian Crusade. See e.g. PVC, 254 for a vituperative critique. After flirting with Philip II in 1213-14, he renewed his oaths to John, and served him until the king's death. Returning to Poitou in 1216, he set his estates in order and joined the Fifth Crusade at Genoa in June, 1219. Lines 489-94 are obscure. It seems possible, though not recorded elsewhere, that he could indeed have been in Toulouse in spring1219, having switched sides yet again, en route overland with his crusade army. Villegas-Aristizabal (2018), 99-118 suggests he had been at the siege of Caceres in León in 1218. Or maybe '*pacificarat*' should be amended to '*pacificaret*.' The passage would then describe an offer by Savary to attack the enemy at Louis' expense. In any case he participated in Louis VIII's final campaign of 1226, though Louis died before reaching Toulouse. See also Introduction, 1, 23 & n. 29. For more on Savary, see Ledain (1892) and Chaytor (1939).

126 Read '*frustra*' for Wright's '*frusta*,' with MS. '*patrias … .opes*' / 'ancestral wealth,' Ovid, *Met*, 8.843-44.

Astronomi dicunt mutari[127] clima Tholose,
Magnanimosque viros esse calore loci.
Nix ibi rara iacet, largo sed ab aëre grando
Grandior est; nimbus grossior inde cadit.
<83> Ventorum rabie discurrens nubibus ignis
Horridius mugit, findit et urit ibi.
Altior hic tellus quam Parisius patet, ultra
Hoc magis assurgit subsequiturque calor.
Monte nives aliquo stringit subtilior aura,
Multiplicans radios sol tamen arva coquit.
Certat in ascensu fieri nox equa diei,
Hanc axis donec torridus equat ei.
Ortus ut elyacus vel cosmicus astra revelet
Hic nemo cernit, hic quia nemo manet.[128]
Remundos igitur animosos alta Tholosa
Gignit, quos patrum bellica vita iuvat.[129]
Postquam Remundo Remundus bellicus heres
Successit,[130] Symon cuncta negavit ei.
Pro domino iuvenem Balcaria firma receptat,
Sed toto Symon robore vallat eum.[131]
Interea Tholosa potens fossata reformat,
Et comes exclusus et comitissa dolent.[132]
Civibus ante sua comitissa retradidit arma
Que tamen ad damnum fleverat arma dari.
Obsidet hos iterum[133] Symon. Remundus in armis
Adveniens alia parte resistit ei.
Iam sol obliquat radios in Virgine terris[134]
Mustaque[135] ponuntur in locuplete penu.[136]
Hic Cruce signati vites populantur et ortos
Et virgulta suis ampla refecta bonis.
Machina crebra graves ictus ad menia mittit;
Ictibus opponit se populosa polis.
Assunt baliste muris ter[137] milia quinque
Exceptis aliis quos numerare grave.[138]

127 Rubric in right margin, '*Philosophica speculatio de situ Tholose.*'
128 Because it was too hot.
129 Rubric in right margin, '*Quomodo Raimundus recuperavit terram.*'
130 Raymond VI (1156-1222) and his son Raymond VII (1197-1249). Beaucaire welcomed the younger Raymond in 1216. Simon had appropriated the lands of the counts of Toulouse, and offered no concessions.
131 Beaucaire was a fortified town on the Rhône, opposite Tarascon. It surrendered to Raymond VII after a long siege, during which the garrison held out as Simon de Montfort in turn encircled the besieging army. This success proved the springboard for a counter-campaign by the two Raymonds. A further

Astronomers say the climate of Toulouse is fickle, and that its men are courageous on account of the heat of the town. Snow rarely lies on the ground there, but the hailstones from the broad sky there are bigger, and the rainstorms that fall there heavier [than elsewhere]. <83> The lightning coming out of the clouds in a frenzy of the winds rumbles and strikes and burns with more menace there. The ground here is more open and elevated than Paris, and beyond Toulouse the heat grows and intensifies. A lighter breeze brings snow in some places in the mountains, but the sun intensifies its rays and bakes the fields. The night vies to be on equal terms with the day in its rising, until the scorching zone of the sky brings them to the same temperature. Because nobody stays here, nobody watches to see how the rising of the sun or that of the stars brings the heavenly bodies into view.

So the great city of Toulouse gave birth to the courageous Raymonds, who benefited from the military lives of their fathers. When Raymond [VII], his warlike heir, succeeded Raymond [VI], Simon denied him everything. The stronghold of Beaucaire welcomed the young man back as its lord, but Simon walled him in with all his strength.

Meanwhile mighty Toulouse rebuilt its defences. The count was shut out of the city, and he and the countess grieved. The countess returned to the citizens the arms which had been theirs before, although she had wept that giving them back would cause harm. Simon again laid siege to them. Raymond arrived in force, and resisted Simon in another part of the city. The sun was already slanting its rays to Earth in the constellation of Virgo, and the unfermented wines were being put in the well-stocked store. Here the crusaders ravaged the vines and orchards, and the bushes which had been re-cultivated and were laden with their fruits. Siege engines showered heavy blows on the walls; the populous city faced up to these assaults. They had fifteen thousand crossbows on the walls, not to mention the other soldiers, too numerous to count. During winter a sort of new town was built outside the walls

incentive was De Montfort's harsh treatment of Toulouse in 1216, after the fall of Beaucaire, ending in exactions, arrests and razing of the walls, WP, 27, Cansó, 171-79.

132 Raymond VI mounted a surprise attack on Toulouse in 1217, with an army raised in Spain, and was welcomed inside. Simon de Montfort was campaigning near the Rhône, and the countess, Alice, was surrounded in the Château Narbonnais inside Toulouse with a small garrison.

133 The first time had been after the battle of Muret.

134 Rubric in right margin, '*De obsidione Tholosae et morte Simonis comitis.*'

135 '*Musta*' with MS , not '*multa*' with Wright. I am grateful to Gregory Hays for this emendation.

136 Persius Flaccus 3.74, '*in locuplete penu,*' This was late summer.

137 Read '*ter*' with MS for Wright's '*tibi.*'

138 See *DTE*, 4.451-52, '*Sunt de Tholosa ter milia quinque necata / Corpora, sed reliqua non numerare licet.*'

Tempore brumali, quedam nova villa fit extra
A Crucesignatis, dicta Tholosa nova.[139]
Hii clamant veterem debere perire Tholosam,
Nec turres tantas nec tot habere tholos.
<84>Tollens Tholosa se laudibus intus abundat,
Plausu lascivos tollit in astra sonos.
Quid dicam crebros insultus totque recursus
Occursusque graves insidiasque geri? [95v]
Percussus totiens comes est anathemate[140] sicut
Et pater illius, nec tamen arma finit.[141]
Conscius ipse boni sibi spem cum pondere iuris
Librat et eventum sperat adesse bonum.
Estus solstitium sol cancro provehit altum
Sollemnemque diem festa Iohannis agunt.
Post festum sacrum lux prima nascitur atra
Ecclesie turmis militibusque Crucis.

139 De Montfort had the *Vilanova* constructed over the winter of 1216-17 in the St. Cyprian quarter on the west bank of the Garonne (Cansó, 189-90). This could well have been the start of a long term plan to complete the destruction of Toulouse and build a wholly new city.

140 *'Comes'* here is Raymond VII. His father, Raymond VI, was excommunicated in 1207, 1210 and 1213, and he himself in 1213 and 1225.

141 '*sitit*' is deleted in the MS and '*sinit*' replaces it. '*finit*' fits the sense better. Translate 'lay down.'

by the crusaders, called New Toulouse. They called for the death of old Toulouse, and that it should have less mighty towers and fewer domes. <84> As Toulouse rebuilt itself, it resounded with celebrations indoors, and rowdy sounds of joy rose in the open air. How can I tell of the regular attacks, matched by retreats, and serious skirmishes and ambushes that were conducted? The count was frequently dealt the blow of excommunication, just like his father, but he did not lay down his arms. He knew what suited him, and placed his hopes in the balance together with the weight of his rights, hoping that a good outcome was at hand. It was the summer solstice, the sun was high in Cancer, and they were celebrating the feast of St. John. After the holy feast day, the next day dawned black for the legions of the Church, and for the soldiers of the Cross.

Book 5

Incipit Liber Quintus

<85> Hic mihi meroris causas Elegia prebet.[1]
Pro qua Meonio non cano bella metro.[2]
Plausus in hiis elegis esto mihi, virgula Iesse,
Virgo, favumque tuum funde favore tuo.[3]
O felix miserum me cerne Maria Iohannem.
Exaudi, recrea, dilue, terge, fove.
Me Christus, me Virgo parens, me Crux sacra salvet,
Humani generis est quibus acta salus.
Salva per maria me dulcis Virgo Maria,[4]
Oranti parens[5] sis mihi Virgo parens.
O mater veri mihi vera reclude. Tholosa
Mittit munitos urbis ad antra viros,
Sed vigiles vigilare Crucis didicere, videntes
Urbis propositum noctivagosque gradus.
Clamor in aurora vigilum profertur, 'Ad arma,
Arma venite viri! Fervidus hostis adest.'
Itur in adversos hostes, utrimque cruenta
Tela volant, telis corpora lesa cadunt.[6]
Effundunt funde lapides arcusque sagittas,
Expelluntque animas vulnera larga leves.
Inclusi plumbum calidum vitrumque solutum
Proiciunt, omni peste nocere student.
<86> Exclusos omnis tutatur machina, parma,
Vinea, trux aries, indomitusque catus.[7]
Ad fossata simul veniunt; hic statur acutis
Contis; et gladiis pugna cruenta madet.
Fit via vi Christi servis, incendia iactant,
Corripiuntque domos, itque Tholosa retro.
Urbis concurrunt domine,[8] flammisque resistunt;
Occurruntque viris, altera turba viri.[9]
Ad flammas peltis armantur, Amazones uncis
Diripiunt ignes quos populantur aquis.
Clave conquassant galeas, resecantque trilices
Loricas gladii, viscera lapsa fluunt.[10]

1 Rubric in left margin, '*De strage mutua ante Tholosam ante mortem Symonis.*' The narrative, from '*Tholosa*' at the end of line 9 follows line 544 at the end of Book 4. This invocation of the Virgin comes at the half-way point in terms of books. Its location seems to be more than coincidental. This would weigh against the theory that there is a missing book (see Introduction, 3, 40-43).

2 '*Meonio metro,*' Homeric, or epic metre.

Book 5

The fifth book begins

<85>Here let Elegy show the reasons for my sadness. In deference to her, I am not writing my poem about the wars in Homeric metre. May I receive applause for these elegiacs, rod of Jesse and, Virgin, pour out your honey in showing your approval. Joyous Mary, look at me, John, in my wretchedness. Hear me, give me new life, wash me, wipe me dry, keep me warm. May Christ, His Virgin mother, and the holy Cross save me, through whose agency derives the salvation of the human race. Sweet Virgin Mary, save me on the seas. Mary, Virgin Mother of God, may you bring your favour to me as I pray. Oh mother of truth, reveal the truth to me.

Toulouse sent armed men to the ditches round the city. But those guardians of the Cross had learned to be on their guard, and saw through the city's plot, and the steps in the night. The guards could be heard calling out at dawn, 'To arms, to arms, men! Our crazed enemy is upon us!' They attacked the enemy facing them, bloody missiles flew from both sides, and bodies fell wounded by them. Slings rained pebbles, bows showered arrows, and gaping wounds gasped out their fragile souls. The besieged threw hot lead and molten glass, and aimed to do damage by every possible agent.

<86> Every kind of device protected the besiegers, shields, mantlets, the cruel battering ram, and the invincible 'cat'. The two sides arrived at the same time at the ditches. Here stood sharpened stakes, and the battlefield dripped with blood shed by swords. A way through was forced by the servants of Christ, who threw incendiaries. They tore down houses, and Toulouse retreated. The ladies of the city came together, fought the flames, and rushed to meet the men, a second poisonous tumult. These Amazons were armed with leather shields against the flames, and clawed at the fires with hooks, and doused them with water.

Clubs crash into helmets, and swords cut through the triply-thick body-armour, and the guts poured out. The mutual blows echoed, the noise bounced back from

3 Is. 11, 1, '*Et egredietur virga de radice Iesse.*' John uses this imagery repeatedly in the *Epithalamium,* e.g., 4.183. The rod of Jesse is Christ Himself. The honeycomb was a frequent attribute of Mary. Note the consonance of '*virgula*' / '*virgo*' and '*favum*' / '*favore.*'

4 The Virgin Mary is frequently associated with the sea ('*maria*') *e.g.* as *Stella Maris*. This line suggests that John made sea voyages, or was about to make one.

5 A rare gloss indicates the meaning of '*parens*' as '*favens.*'

6 Ovid, *Met.* 5.158, '*Tela volant, hyberna grandine plura.*'

7 For the 'cat', see WP (Sibly and Sibly trans.), p. 61, n.59.

8 Cansó, 205, describes the supporting effort of the women of Toulouse, including the noblewomen.

9 Note the play on words, '*vir*'/ 'man' and '*virus*' / 'poison.'

10 Ovid, *Met.,* 8.402, '*viscera lapsa fluunt.*'

Inter se resonant ictus,[11] sonus astra relidit
Aurea, conclamor Martis in aure tonat.
Nunc hii nunc illi retrocedunt. Ira vigorque
Exacuunt animos, instimulantque manus.
O miseros homines, discordia tanta fatigat!
Quam gravis est vita, quam brevis hora necis!
Dum sic densantur, furtivus corripit ignis [96r]
Symonias crates et tabulam cati.
Clamor it ad Symonem, 'Vos missam tempore tali
Auditis, moritur dum Crucis ista phalanx?'
Audivit missam cum, viso corpore Christi,
Hic salvatori paucula verba dedit,
'Aut hodie, mundi salvator, da mihi palmam,
Aut me de curis eripe, Christe, meis.
Audita missa, velociter induit arma,
Cuius multa manus ambit utrumque latus.
Huius in adventu consurgit turbo procelle,[12]
Que turres rutilo fulminis igne ferit.
Hinc Amalricus, illinc Laceyus Hugo.[13]
Hic Boree similis provolat, ille Notho.
Symonis hic natus, miles Crucis ille, per hostes
Prorumpunt, quorum mors volat ante manus.
<87> Dum vacuant equites campum, stratis tamen illum
Implent corporibus; pars inimica fugit.
Qui prius exierant, numquam rediere; vel ipsi
Fossis, vel mediis occubuere viis.
Notificare novem Muse non omnia possent
Vulnera; nec poterit hic stilus iste brevis.
Dicit ut historia Francorum, rivus inundans[14]
Quondam sanguineus hic sine marte fuit.
Hoc variis bellis modo verificatur. Inundat
Intus et exterius, cede madente cruor.[15]
Impegit postquam muris hostiliter hostes
Symon, crudescit altera pugna gravis.
Obvia tela volant, hiberna grandine plura,[16]
Et torquet lapides plurima funda graves.
Dimisso stat equo Symon, meditando patentis
Introitus vires ingeniique modos.

11 *IPGRR,* 33, p. 300, '*resonant ictus*.'
12 See *DTE,* 4.333 and note.
13 *Amalricus,* Amaury, Simon de Montfort's eldest son, who inherited his father's lands on Simon's death. He fought in the Barons' Crusade, *DTE,* 7.177-78. Hugh de Lacy, an exiled English knight,

the shining stars, and the clamour of war rang in everyone's ears. Now one side, now the other retreated, their force and anger sharpened their spirits and drove on their hands. Oh, how such bitterness wearies wretched mortals. What a burden is life, how short the hour of death. In this dense fighting, a hidden fire crept up on Simon's wicker hurdles and the timbers of the 'cat.' The shout reached Simon's ears, 'You are hearing mass at a time like this, when this regiment of the Cross is dying.' He heard mass, and when he saw the body of Christ, he addressed to the Saviour these few words, 'Saviour of the world, either grant me victory today, or snatch me away, O Christ, from my cares.' After hearing mass, he quickly put on his armour, and a large squadron surrounded him on both flanks. On his arrival a great storm broke out, which struck the towers with golden yellow flashes of lightning. Here were Amaury, here Hugh de Lacy, the one flying forward like the North wind, the other like the South. Amaury was Simon's son, Hugh a soldier of the cross. They burst through the enemy, for whom death flew before their hands.

<87>As the knights left the plain, they filled it with a carpet of bodies, and the enemy side fled. Those who had gone out earlier never returned, but died in the ditches or in the middle of the roads. The nine Muses would not suffice to record all the wounds, nor will this economical pen of mine. As the history of the Franks tells, in the past when the river overflowed it was the colour of blood even when there was no fighting. Various recent wars only serve to prove this true. There was a flood of blood, within and outside the city, as the slaughter seeped. Simon aggressively pinned the enemy against the walls, and another major battle developed. Oncoming missiles flew, thicker than the winter hail, and many slings hurled heavy stones. Simon let his horse go, and was on foot, thinking about the strength of the entry point to the city which now lay open, and about ways of devising a plan.

formerly with large Irish estates, by then lord of Laurac and Castelnaudary in Languedoc, features prominently in the Cansó, and is described by Matthew Paris, *CM* 4. 232, as '*bellator nominatissimus*.' See Introduction, 1, 23 &26, and 4, 53.

14 Rubric in right margin, '*De antiquo sanguinis rivo Tholose*.' The soil of Languedoc is a rich red, and in turbulent weather after rain the Garonne can flow red. It did in fact flood at this time, e.g. PVC, 606B.

15 Read '*cruor*' with MS, for Wright's '*cruce*.'

16 Ovid, *Met.*, 5.15; see line 18 above.

Forsan in urbe fuit peraria[17] parvula, multas
Inter consimiles, otia nulla gerens,
Assidue quoniam mulieres saxa rotabant,
Ut pro parte sua sic nocumenta darent.
Quelibet Eva fuit sed prima nequior Eva,
Dum pro se studuit quelibet esse nocens.[18]
Crebros dum torquunt iuxta fossata lapillos
Et lapides, unum casus iniquus agit;
Symonis in galeam descendit, mons ibi fortis
Labitur Ecclesie, iustitieque pugil.
Non sequitur planctus, ne clausus gaudeat hostis,
Nocte sed abducto corpore miles abit.
Intitulant tempus claris annalibus illud[19]
Heretici, tempus flebile ludit eis.
Idus et nonas et tempora fixa kalendis,
Pretereunt bissex signa gradusque suos.
Signorum gradibus Phebo currente dierum
Ortus non numerant, sit nisi causa lucri.
<88> Hos non religio, sed nummus perdocet horas [96v]
Sumendi reditus, era, phalera, cados.[20]
Nummis postponunt sanctorum festa, diemque
Servandum domini, iussaque sancta Dei.
Multiplicant et dimidiant, addunt sibi, nobis
Subtraxisse volunt, cum sibi posse datur.
Non ut ieiunent per tempora quatuor[21] anni
Discunt declives enumerare dies,
Sed Pharios digitare dies didicere, putantes
Pravum temporibus omen inesse bonis.[22]
Ediscunt annos Domini quadrare notando
Bissextum, sed habent vota sitimque lucri.
Quis ciclus Domini, notulas comprendit, et omnes[23]
Scit concurrentes qui numerare studet,
Lucibus undenis lunaris quod minor annus
Anno sit solis. Lucra sequendo notat,
Annos ille decem notat ire novemque ferentes[24]
Primam qua fenus dulce redire queat.

17 '*peraria*' with MS, not '*petraria*' with Wright.

18 Only the *Cansó*, 1205, and John report that it was a woman who fired the stone which killed de Montfort. John is probably following the *Cansó*.

19 Rubric in right margin, '*De regulis kalendarii ex incidenti ad confusionem hereticorum et laudem sanctorum*' / 'Regarding the rules of the calendar as the days fall, to the confusion of the heretics and in honour of the saints.'

20 Wright follows the MS, '*phalerna,*' / 'Falernian wines'; '*phalera,*' / 'ornaments', better fits the sense. Heretics were commonly accused of usury, see Abulafia (1988), 213, Mundy (1954), 77-80, WP, 15. '*Cados*' were pots used as money-boxes.

By chance there was a small petrary inside the city, one among many similar ones. It knew no rest, since hard-working women kept up a continuous supply of stones, so that they could make their own contribution to the damage. One or other of these women was Eve, but wickeder than the first Eve, as each woman strove to do her own piece of damage. As they fired pebbles and stones from beside the ditches, unfair chance directed one of them. It dropped on Simon's helmet, and there fell that 'Mont fort' of the Church and champion of justice. There was no cry of lament, so that the besieged enemy should have no cause for joy, but that knight left the battlefield when they took away his body during the night.

The heretics record that time in their chronicles of glory, but that time of tears makes a mockery of them. They ignore the Ides and Nones and the times fixed by the Kalends, as well as the twelve signs [of the zodiac] and their movements. They do not set in order the dawning of the days by the movements of the signs of the zodiac as the sun runs his course—except to calculate interest. <88> It is not religion but Mammon which dictates the time for taking the returns, whether cash, jewellery, or the treasure-chest. They place second to Mammon the saints' festivals, the day for serving the Lord, and the holy commands of God. They multiply and divide, they add to their own advantage and want to have subtracted from ours, whenever they are offered the opportunity. It is not to enable them to fast through the four seasons of the year that they learn how to count the days as the sun goes down, but they have learnt how to indicate 'Egyptian Days', believing that a bad omen lies in good weather.

They learn how to reconcile the years of the Lord by making a note in the ledger on intercalary days, but they pray for and thirst after profit. Whoever understands the Lord's cycles and the notes in the ledger, and who carefully counts them up running side by side, knows that the lunar is shorter than the solar year by eleven days. He keeps his accounts in pursuit of interest; he notes down the passing of nineteen years,

21 The 'four times' for fasting, or Ember Days, fell before Christmas and Easter, and after Whitsuntide and the Exaltation of the Cross.

22 Although dismissed as a superstitious practice by Augustine, twenty-four specific 'Egyptian days', not always the same ones, were often marked as unlucky in medieval calendars, inauspicious for e.g. starting a journey or enterprise, see Steele (1919). John seems to be saying that heretics perversely regard fine days as ill-omened.

23 Read '*Domini, notulas*' with MS, not '*notulas Domini*' with Wright.

24 Nineteen years is the time taken by the moon to return to the same phase on the same calendar date. Twenty eight years marks the full solar cycle over which in the Julian calendar the days of the week and the date coincide. This section is more a display of John's expertise in astronomy than a serious attack on moneylenders. His point is that moneylenders profit from the divergences between lunar and solar calendars by making sure interest, accrued daily, was charged for all the intercalary days needed to reconcile the calendars.

Cum solis ciclus vigenos claudat et octo
Annos quid lucri conferat arte notat.
Non causa Pasche curat cognoscere Pascha;[25]
Propter se festum mobile scire negat.
Non Ianuario[26] notat annum, sed sibi figit
Anni principium quolibet esse die.
Si queris causam, sumit vadimonia, reddit;
Massat opes aliis, devorat Orcus[27] eum.
Menses metiri duodenaque signa beati
Christicole propter festa beata student.
Dictio bissena dat in ordine grammata bissex
Illis, ut menses initiare queas,
Altitonans Dominus, Divina Gerens, Bonus. Extat
Granum Celeste;[28] Fert Ana Dona, Fide.[29]
Mar. Ma. Iul. Oc. senas, reliquis quater, imprime nonas,
Octo sunt idus, subsequiturque kalon.
<89> Sep. No. Iun. Ap. triginta dato, reliquis magis uno.
Lucibus at geminis Februus esto minor
Huic dabitur quarto lux bisextilis in anno
Quam faciunt hore sex superesse quater.
Post Martis nonas primam defige,[30] diesque
Bis septem numera, Pascha sequetur eos.[31]
Per lucem Pasche tibi Septuagesima scitur,
Ebdomadas retro conumerato novem.
Sustinet Ecclesia tamen illud mobile festum
Nam prope iudicium cernit adesse Dei.
Quinquaginta due sunt ebdomade, tamen anno
In toto supra cernitur[32] una dies.

25 John uses both feminine and neuter declensions of *Pascha.*

26 Read '*Ianuario*' *for* '*hic Alano*' *in* MS and Wright.

27 MS has '*orcbus*'; read '*orcus*' with Wright.

28 '*celeste granum suscipiens,*' Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude novae militie*, 5.

29 Wright punctuates '*Altitonans Dominus, Divina Gerens, Bonus Extat, / Granum Caeleste Fert Ana, Dona, Fide.*' This does not matter, since this was a list of twelve words (of which there were variations) enabling the user to work out on which day of the week any day of the month falls. The words in lines 121-22 represent the months, in order from January, and the initial letter is the ferial or Dominical letter on the kalends (first day) of each month. In a medieval calendar, these letters appeared in the sequence A-G beside each day of the year, beginning on 1 January and running through to 31 December. The Dominical letter for 1 January is A, for 1 February D, for 1 March D and so forth. If the Dominical leter for the current year is A, then 1 January will fall on a Sunday, 1 February (D) on a Wednesday, 1 March on a Wednesday and so forth. If it is a leap year, the Dominical letter for the year advances by one after 24 February. Since 15 January, 22 January and 29 January will also have the

which bring the first point at which his full capital can come back to him. When the solar cycle has completed twenty-eight years, he ingeniously calculates how much interest it brings in.

He does not take the trouble to know the incidence of Easter for the sake of Easter itself. He claims not to know about the dates of moveable feasts for their own sake. He does not annotate the year in January, but has fixed for himself that the start of the year can be on any day he likes. If you ask the reason, he takes and returns security. He builds a pile of wealth from other people and hell swallows him up. Christians are blessed and are zealous in noting the months and the twelve signs because of the holy feast days.

Altitonans Dominus Divina Gerens Bonus Extat Granum Celeste Fert Ana Dona Fide. This mnemonic with twelve words gives Christians the twelve letters so that you know on which day of the week the months begin. In March, May, July, October, note well, the Nones fall on the sixth, and in the rest of the months on the fourth; the Ides come eight days later, and the Kalends are consistent for all months. <89> Allocate thirty days to September, November, June and April, and one more to each of the remaining months. Give February two days less; every fourth year February will be allocated an intercalary day, made up by the four times six hours left over. Take the first day after the Nones of March as a fixed point, count fourteen days, then the Paschal moon will be the full moon following them. Septuagesima is known to you through the light of this Easter moon, by counting back nine weeks. However the Church keeps this as a moveable feast, because it sees that God's judgment is nigh. There are fifty-two weeks in a year, but you can

Dominical letter A, they will fall on Sunday in the year in question. Knowing this mnemonic—and the Dominical letter of the current year—allows one to calculate the weekday of any calendar date. I am grateful to Professor Faith Wallis for her guidance on this.

30 John is explaining how to calculate the date of Easter. Using the Julian calendar, fourteen days following the Nones of March is 20 March (taking John's definition as the eve of the Nones). The day following is 21 March, the vernal equinox. The Paschal Moon is the first full moon on or following that day, and Easter is the Sunday after that. His interest in this subject went back at least to when he wrote *EBVM,* 8.263-72.

31 According to Paetow, *MS,* 141-42, in many medieval manuscripts and 'almost all the old bibliographies,' John of Garland was credited with a work on *computus,* the art of calculating the incidence of Easter. Scholars before Paetow believed this was a mistaken attribution of works by Gerlandus, a twelfth century computist. However, given John's prolific authorship, and his interest in the subject demonstrated in this poem, Paetow concludes that 'we cannot fly in the face of so much manuscript evidence of the thirteenth and later centuries which ascribes this or that work on computus to John of Garland.' Surprisingly he did not go on to say that lines 139-40 below provide *prima facie* (though not overwhelming) evidence that John had already written such a work.

32 Read '*cernitur*' for Wright's '*cerniter*,' with MS.

Ista dies reddit Domini variabile grama[33]
Supra quod debet Pascha venire sacrum.
De saltu lune vel epactis defero tractum,
Hoc alibi quia pagina certa docet.[34]
Prostrato fidei muro fecere patentes [97r]
Portas cum plausu qui doluere prius.
Imperium Rome si vir modo talis haberet,[35]
Tutus papa foret, tutaque tota Syon.
Ha! Nova damna queror, gemitus intersero iustos
Dum caput Ecclesie Cesaris ira ferit.
Musica dum metricam sibi copulat artis amicam,[36]
Ut Lapithes[37] satyram temperat arte liram,
Ditonice canerem bellum, nisi bella timerem.[38]
Privatim doleo, iura perire fleo.[39]
Cantus cromaticus lascivis aptus, iniquus
Est mihi. Dum refero gesta, modestus ero.
Papa fatigatur, terraque marique gravatur.[40]
Nil curant nati patris amore pati.
Hec probo; mutescunt residentque, metuque tepescunt;
Torporem fidei puniet ira Dei.
More patrum solito, Francos, pie pastor, adito.
Rex occurret ibi,[41] gensque modesta tibi.
<90> Est ibi Pipinus, est Karolus, ad mare pinus
Si sit opus renovans, pro patre victor ovans.[42]

33 On dominical letters, see n. 29. The lunar year comprises 354 days, eleven days shorter than the solar year of 365 days (ignoring leap years). Therefore, starting both at the same time, at the beginning of the solar year 11 days of the the lunar year will already have passed, and *pro rata,* 22 days will have passed by the end of two solar years. These measures of difference were 'epacts.' When the difference became 30 days, an intercalary lunar month was inserted into the lunar calendar and 30 was subtracted from the epact. Because these figures are not precise, after every nineteen solar years, an extra day was added to the epact to rectify distortions. This process was '*saltus lune*' / 'moon's leap.'

34 This explanation is not in fact provided elsewhere in *DTE.*

35 This line clearly follows on from the death of Simon de Montfort in line 84. It looks like an attempt to stitch together the section written in Toulouse and the sections written in the early 1240s. The reference in line 142 is to the people of Toulouse, following Simon's death in 1218. John then makes a favourable and flattering comparison with the Emperor Frederick II. If however this section was written in Toulouse, John is probably referring to Frederick II's return from the Holy Land to deal with Pope Gregory IX's 'crusade' against him in Italy in 1228-30.

36 Rubric in right margin, '*Interseritur de gestis nobilibus Karoli regis.*' This looks out of place. Charlemagne appears in line 159. Note however the stylistic feature of rhyming half-lines in lines 147-228, with a few exceptions. This suggests insertion of a separate piece of work, essentially about Charlemagne, introduced to contrast Frederick's treatment of the pope with Louis IX's offer of refuge in Lyon. John struggles on occasion to combine rhyme with sense and strays from the rules for leonines.

see that in the full year there is one extra day. That day determines the moveable dominical letter after which Easter is ordained to fall. I will postpone my treatment of the 'moon's leap', that is to say the epacts, because an accurate written account explains this elsewhere.

With this bastion of the faith laid low, those who were protesting their pain before have thrown open their gates with cheering. If only such a man [as Simon de Montfort] held the empire of Rome, the pope and all of Jerusalem would be secure. Alas, I lament recent setbacks, and weave my righteous grief [into the poem] as the anger of Caesar strikes at the head of the Church.

As music couples with metre, companion to art, just as by art the Lapith tamed his satyr's lyre, I would sing of war in the diatonic mode if I were not in fear of wars. In my heart I am full of grief, I lament at the demise of just claims. Chromatic singing is fitted for frivolity, but unsuitable for me. While I am writing about historical deeds, I shall maintain a restrained style.

The pope is weary, he is oppressed by land and sea. His sons have no inclination to undergo pain out of love for their father. I go on to demonstrate this. They are idle turncoats, and they grow cold with fear. The wrath of God will punish their lukewarm faith. Holy shepherd, turn to the French, in the usual way of popes. In France, the king will meet you there, along with his dutiful people. <90> There he is a Pepin, a Charlemagne, refitting his ships for the sea in response to the need, exulting in his victory for the Holy Father.

37 For '*sapiat*' in MS and Wright read '*Lapithes*' / 'Lapith' to make sense of this line. This looks like another error by the scribe because of his unfamiliarity with classical mythology.

38 In lines 149-52, John uses the language of music, linking rhythm and harmony with metre. He refers to Boethius' division of song into three *genera,* diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic, *De institutione musica*, 1.15. In 1.21 Boethius writes '*diatonum quidem aliquanto durius et naturalius, chroma vero iam quasi ab illa naturali intentione discedens et in mollius decidens*' / 'the diatonic is somewhat more austere and more natural, but the chromatic seems to depart from that natural inclination and to slip into softer mode.' John is saying here that he will stick to words rather than music. On music, see also *DTE,* 6.49-54 and Introduction, 1, 27-28 & nn. 77-80.

39 John is referring to the Toulousains' rejection of Simon's claims on their city.

40 The pope is Innocent IV, elected in 1243 after a two year interregnum.

41 Read '*occurret*' with MS, not Wright's '*otfret.*' I am grateful to Gregory Hays for this.

42 Read '*sit*' with MS, for Wright's '*sic.*' '*Si opus sit,*' was a medical formula, shortened to 'SOS', requiring a prescribed dose to be administered 'when required.' Lines 159-60 were clearly written around 1245, when the pope fled to Lyon. Only Louis IX of the Western monarchs responded to the new Pope Innnocent IV's call to recover the Holy Land by starting to prepare a fleet. Vergil *Aen.* 5. 331, '*hic iuvenis iam victor ovans.*' In fact this passage describes Nisus' joy immediately before he slips and loses the race, so could have been written before or after Louis' defeat in 1250.

Rome bis terque succurrens fortis uterque
Gothos acephalos reddidit ense malos.[43]
Karolus ut dictis Turpini promo relictis
Terris sanctorum gaudet habere chorum.[44]
Insula multa maris[45] titulis est addita claris,
Et Sarraceni mixta iuventa seni.[46]
Reges gentiles exarmat ad arma viriles
Inclita palma Crucis, corde fideque ducis
Imperium rexit Rome. Papalia texit,
Servans Ecclesiam cumque Rachele Lyam.[47]
Sevas esse manus tunc Papa videns Adrianus,[48]
Regem per Karolum terruit omne solum.
In Longobardos rex non ad prelia tardos
Inclitus optinuit, inclita palma fuit.
Magni frater erat Karoli; bene si modo queras,[49]
Cronica qui retegit et sua gesta legit.[50]
Magnum papa[51] Leo magno comitante tropheo
Accivit Karolum, suppeditando dolum.
Nam Leo cecatur sed celicus ut reparatur
Tutus Romuleo rege triumphat eo.
Magnus Agolandum[52] confundit sepe nephandum,
Tandem quod querit, impius ense perit.
In Ferracutum Rolandum[53] mittit acutum,
Hicque giganteum morte perurget eum.
Marsirii[54] munus cum vino femina funus
Multis triste facit, agmen ad ima iacit.
Marsirium sternit Rolandus. Cur? Quia spernit
Baptismi lavacrum persequiturque sacrum.

43 Lines 162-95 are based on Pseudo-Turpin. Both Pippin (*c.* 714-68) and Charlemagne (*c.* 745-814) were kings of the Franks engaged in fighting the Muslims in Europe. John's narrative is in line with the Capetian propaganda demonstrating direct continuity with the Carolingians. See Introduction, 7, 73 & n. 33.

44 Ps-T, 32 describes Charlemagne's death, Turpin's premonition of it, and his confidence that Charlemagne had won a martyr's crown.

45 Charlemagne added Corsica, Sardinia and the Balearics to his empire. He was named '*patricius*' by Pope Adrian I (772-95) in 774, and crowned emperor by Leo in 800.

46 Lines 164-66 do not read well, and could be corrupt. But there is no tampering in the text.

Each of these strong leaders came two or three times to Rome's assistance, and cut off the heads of the wicked Goths with his sword. As I relate, relying on the words bequeathed by Turpin, Charlemagne rejoices at being one of the throng in the lands of the blessed. Many islands in the sea were added to his glorious titles. And the young men of the Saracen side were forced to join the old men (i.e. killed). The glorious victory of the Cross disarmed these infidel kings, so manly in war. He ruled the empire of Rome with the courage and the faith of a leader. He protected the pope's domain, saving the Church, and Leah as well as Rachel. Then Pope Adrian saw that Charlemagne's hands were harsh, and kept the whole world in fear through the Emperor Charlemagne. The glorious emperor occupied the lands of the Lombards, no laggards in battle, and glorious victory was his. If you were only to search carefully, Charlemagne the Great had a brother, who prepared a chronicle and drew together an account of his achievements.

Pope Leo summoned Charlemagne with a great show of respect, but he was being guileful; Leo was blinded but as this holy man's sight was restored he was safe and sound and victorious, with Charlemagne now the emperor of Romulus' city. The great king inflicted many defeats on the execrable Agolandus, and finally achieved his objective; the unbeliever died by the sword. He despatched clear-sighted Roland against Ferracutus, and he overcame that giant with death. Marsirius' gift of women brought a sad death to many by means of wine, and cast our column of soldiers into the depths. Roland slew Marsirius. Why? Because he despised the baptismal font and was the scourge of holiness.

47 Rachel and Leah, Gen. 31, the wives of Jacob, typically here symbolising the monastic and lay elements of the Church respectively. Constable (1995) 3-141, *passim*, reviews their treatment by medieval writers and that of Mary and Martha, Lazarus' sisters (see *DTE*, 2, n. 151 & 3, n. 177).

48 In 773-74, Pope Adrian I asked Charlemagne to repel the Lombards, who were threatening Rome.

49 Read '*queras*,' with sense, for MS and Wright '*querat*.'

50 There is no record of any such account by Carloman, Charlemagne's younger brother. Einhard's *Vita Caroli* and the Frankish archives on which it is based are the obvious source for this reference, based as they are on sources close to Charlemagne.

51 In 799, attackers of Pope Leo III (795-816) tried to tear out his tongue and eyes. He was rescued by Charlemagne, and crowned him emperor the following year. The 'Paderborn epic,' or *De Karolo Magno et Papa Leone,* describes this encounter, also mentioned by Einhard, Book 3.

52 Agolandus, see also *DTE*, 3.328-36. For his death in Pamplona, see Ps-T, 14.

53 Ferracutus was a giant, descended from Goliath, killed by Roland on Charlemagne's orders, Ps-T, 17.

54 Marsirius, a fictional Persian king sent by the emir of Babylon to fight Charlemagne. He is killed by Roland at Roncesvalles in Pseudo-Turpin, but in the Song of Roland loses his hand, dying later. It was he who bribed Ganelon with women and wine for the army, to betray the rearguard of Charlemagne's

Non hodie callis amfractu Rocidavallis[55]
Rolandi resonat ense tubisque sonat.
Rore Pireneo vallis madet, aut Karoleo [97v]
Marte cruenta fluit insidiasque luit.[56]
<91> In fraudem proni multi modo sunt Ganaloni.
Qui fallax fuerit hic Ganalonus erit,
Hic bellatores dat fraude neci meliores.
Tempore quam timeo posse nocere meo!
Quis modo tutatur papam? Quis ad arma paratur?
Quis fugat excubias? Evacuatque vias?[57]
Ventri succurrit Dives, bona quando ligurrit,[58]
Fortis sincerum dulce bibendo merum.
Causatur clerus, Sciolus reputatur Homerus,
Nummos dum querit, pro quibus arma gerit.
Tales dum comedunt avide, stomacum sibi ledunt.
Plurima qui[59] sitiunt noscere vina sciunt.
De propriis matri succurrite, propria patri
Solvite. Cur Dominus languet habendo minus?
Contra scismaticos fidei Crux armet amicos
Verbis altisonis, Ecclesieque bonis.
Ad patris femora male Cham[60] sua solverat ora;
Cur tu derides qui bene gesta vides?
Rex non degenerat Ludovicus,[61] si bene querat,
'Quis gladios acuit, robur in arma struit?'
Est pape cura Christi defendere iura,
Que lex sancta movet, curia iusta fovet.
Patres Ecclesie tendunt in calle sophie.
Non errare queunt dum sapienter eunt.
'Cesar magne, pape! Quid agis? Dentur sua pape.[62]
Tu cohibe vires, qui probitate vires.

army which Roland commanded. He had falsely promised to convert. Marsirius' bribe is described at Ps-T, 21, and his death in ch. 22. Roland and his forces were slaughtered at Roncesvalles.

55 The battle of Roncesvalles, a Pyrenean pass, took place in 778. Earlier accounts say that Charlemagne's army was attacked by Basques, later versions (like Pseudo-Turpin) say the enemy was Muslim. '*Tubis*' in line 190 refers to Roland's blast on his ivory horn, too late for Charlemagne and reinforcements to be of any use. See Ps-T, 23-24 for the rest of the battle and its aftermath.

56 If this section was written in the early 1240s, the latter-day Ganelon may be Raymond VII, who briefly supported Henry III's invasion of 1242, and was blamed for the murder in 1242 of Dominican inquisitors, *DTE*, 7.279-80. Or it could be the Count of Foix, who supported a rebellion by Raymond II Trencavel in 1240. Another strong candidate is Frederick II.

57 This appears to refer to the events of 1244, when the pope fled to Lyon to escape the forces of Frederick II. Lines 199-206 are an attack on the clergy of the day, who spent the substance of the Church, undermined the classics and engaged in armed warfare, instead of supporting the pope.

No longer does the mountain pass at the gorge of Roncevalles echo with the clash of Roland's sword and the sound of his trumpets. The valley is moist with the dew of the Pyrenees, or, rather, flows with the martial spirit of Charlemagne, and washes away that ambush. <91> There are many Ganelons nowadays, liable to treachery. He who has proved false will be a Ganelon, such a man delivers better warriors than himself to death by deception. How fearful I am of his power to do harm in my own times! Who watches over the pope now? Who is getting ready to fight? Who is putting the sentries to flight, or clearing the roads? Dives benefits his own stomach when he nibbles at good things, getting his strength from drinking sweet, undiluted wine. The clergy equivocate, Homer is deemed a lightweight, while the clergy search for money for which they bear arms. When such people as these eat greedily, they damage their own stomachs. Those who have the most intense thirst know how to become familiar with wine. Help your mother [Church] out of your own substance, pay your own substance to your father [the pope]. Why is our Lord inactive, with diminishing resources? May the Cross arm the friends of the faith against the heretics with lofty words, and also with the goods of the Church.

Ham had wrongly allowed his glance to fall on his father's [naked] limbs. Why do you mock when you see worthy actions? King Louis lives up to his pedigree if he were rightly to ask, 'Who is sharpening his sword and channelling his strength into weaponry?' It is the pope's responsibility to defend the rights of Christ, which the holy law determines, and the righteous *curia* defends. The fathers of the Church cannot go wrong provided they follow the path of wisdom.

'Mighty Caesar, what's this? Let the pope be granted what belongs to him. Hold your forces in check, you who take strength from your nobility. Mighty one, be

John seems to be saying that while the very rich and powerful thrive on their depredations, the clergy cannot digest them.

58 Dives, medieval name for the rich man in the parable of Lazarus, Luc. 16, 19-31.

59 Read '*qui*,' with sense, not '*quae*' with Wright.

60 Ham, son of Noah, saw his father naked, Gen. 9, 20-22.

61 Louis IX emerges as the hero who gave refuge to the pope, and took up arms against his enemies the Saracens. John contrasts the duty of kings to take military action, and that of popes to use intellectual and ecclesiastical weapons.

62 This is a difficult passage. The punctuation differs from Wright's, turning this into a direct appeal to Frederick II to join forces with the pope, probably in the early 1240s, but possibly surviving from material John wrote in the 1220s. John uses the colloquial '*Quid agis?*' reminiscent of Latin comedy, in a pun alongside '*pape*' / 'pope.' In *CG*, 4.1629, John explains the use of '*Pape*' as '*Quid hoc est*?'/, 'What's all this?' In the next line John uses '*vires*' as both noun and verb. Lines 219-20 are retained as in MS and Wright , leaving words which attribute *probitas* to Frederick.

63 John alludes to contemporarary accusations of heresy against Frederick.

Parce potens celo, dispar tua gloria Belo
Stat pro Christicolis, idola nulla colis.[63]
Sit Constantini tibi vita preambula fini,
Cuius[64] sancta fides fulsit ut ipse vides'.
Fulminis igne perit dum celum scandere querit
Atrox Centimanus[65] bellipotensque manus.
Da stabilem pacem, Deus, ensem tolle minacem,
Regnet ut ingenua Crux tua lexque tua.
<92> Surgat vir fortis aliquis princepsque cohortis[66]
Extinguens heresum virus amando Ihesum.
Annos ecce quater centum trigintaque lapsos
Et sex a Karoli tempore[67] scripta ferunt.
Post Karolum reges cuncti fulsere fideles.
Ista probat proles, magne Philippe, tua.
O dolor, O luctus, risus Elegia furtim
Surripit, et subito gaudia vana rapit,
Cincta[68] triumphali Ludovitica tempora lauro
Febribus oppressit, deposuitque solo.
Rex studet opprobium Christi Symonisque perempti
Ulcisci; regem mors animosa rapit.
Avinone tamen prius in sua iura redacta
Cives fregerunt menia pace data.[69]
Succedit regi Ludovico rex Ludovicus, [98r]
Cuius consiliis[70] pax diuturna placet.
Cognatus regis paci revocatur ab armis[71]
Remundus, tali condicione tamen:
Quod comitis natam Robertus frater haberet
Regis, at Alphonso postea nupta fuit:
Quod proprio sumptu studium sollemne Tholose
Fundaret; caperet quod simul ille Crucem.[72]
Qualiter impleta fuerint promissa, patescit[73]
Omnibus; ad pugnam pax simulata redit,
Sed comes allegat iniustitiam sibi factam
Dum rex conatur castra[74] tenere sibi.

64 Read '*cuius*' with MS, for Wright's '*eius.*'
65 '*Centimanus,*' a giant of classical mythology, e.g. *Aen.* 10.566-68.
66 John juxtaposes Louis' Carolingian provenance with his criticism of Frederick, who claimed direct imperial succession.
67 436 years from Charlemagne's death would be 1250. This is therefore one of the later passages of *DTE.*
68 Read '*cincta,*' for '*cuncta*' in MS and Wright.
69 Louis VIII (1223-26), Philip's son, died during the siege in 1226, having all but captured Avignon from Raymond VII of Toulouse, WP, 33-34; *CM*, 3.114-17. See also *DTE*, 3.293-94. Officially the

merciful to Heaven, your glory is not like Baal's and stands on the side of the Christians; you do not worship idols. Let the life of Constantine be the underpinning for your goal. His holy faith shone forth, as you yourself can see.' The appalling Centimanus and his powerful band died in the flames of a thunderbolt as he tried to climb to Heaven. O God, grant us lasting peace, remove this menacing sword, so that your Cross of virtue and your law might reign. <92> Let some strong man rise up, a commander of the army who through love of Jesus will extinguish the heresies' contagion.

What I have written covers the four hundred and thirty-six years which have passed from the time of Charlemagne. After him all the kings have shone forth in their faith. Your son, great Philip, is proof of this. Oh grief and calamity! Elegia wipes off smiles by stealth, and abruptly snatches away baseless rejoicing. She overwhelms Louis' brow with fever, wreathed with the laurels of victory, and casts the laurels to the ground. The king was eager to avenge the insult to Christ and the death of Simon, but a virulent form of death swept him away. However before he died he had reduced Avignon to his control, and on peace being granted its citizens pulled down the walls.

[Another] King Louis succeeded King Louis, whose advisers favoured long-lasting peace. Raymond, who was a relative of the King, was attracted from armed resistance back to peace on condition that Robert, the king's brother, should marry his daughter—though in fact she married Alphonse later; that he should at his own expense establish a permanent *studium* in Toulouse; and that he should at the same time take the Cross. Let it be clear to all how his promises were fulfilled; a make-believe peace reverted to war. But the count maintained that he had been dealt an injustice, since the king was trying to hold on to his strongholds. He allowed the Bugari (heretics)

king died of dysentery, but Matthew Paris suggests he was poisoned. He was succeeded by his son, Louis IX, then aged twelve. Until he became of age, Louis IX effectively shared the throne with his mother, Blanche of Castile.

70 '*consiliis*' could refer either to the advice Louis was receiving or to his 'plans or policies.' The former interpretation gives Blanche the credit for rapid neutralisation of Raymond VII.

71 Rubric in right margin, '*De plantatione studii Tholose*' / 'regarding the establishment of the Toulouse *studium*'. '*Cognatus,*' Raymond VII of Toulouse was the son of Raymond VI and Joan, sister of Richard I of England. Richard's mother was Eleanor of Aquitaine, who was married first to Louis VII of France and then to Henry II of England. Philip II's mother was Louis VII's third wife, Adela of Champagne.

72 The Treaty of Paris was concluded between Raymond VII and Louis IX in 1229, C. Devic, & J. Vaissète eds., *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1879), vol. 8, 883-93. John lists here some of the Treaty's provisions. Raymond's daughter Jeanne was to marry one of Louis IX's brothers, and on Raymond's death his remaining territories were to pass through her to the French crown. The Capetian monarchs, having already confiscated the Trencavel lands, consolidated their control over Languedoc. Raymond was required to take the Cross, and to establish the *studium* at Toulouse. '*Sollenne*' is most safely translated as 'permanent,' rather than given any religious implication.

73 John implies bad faith on Raymond's part.

74 In 1240, Raymond recovered some fortresses which he felt had been unreasonably held by the king.

Inquiri Bugaros[75] permittit, eosque peruri.
Qualia sunt novit interiora Deus.
Hunc probitas et nobilitas de stemate regum
Gazaque magnificant, castraque plena viris.
Pravos extirpat et doctor et ignis et ensis,
Falcat eos Fulco presul in urbe sacer.[76]
Hic dudum fuerat ioculator, civis et inde
Marsilie clarus coniuge, prole, domo.
<93> Intrans cenobium Turoneti veste sub alba[77]
Certat ut interius albior esse queat.
Factus de monacho fuit abbas, presul et inde
Tholose, passus pro grege multa mala,
Probra, minas, iter, exilium,suspiria, luctus,
Raptus, contemptus, insidiasque graves.
Abbates facti Fulconis sunt duo nati,
Consecrat et matrem religionis apex.[78]
Multa novo studio dedit hic solacia postquam
Romanus studium sanxit in urbe novum.[79]
Sed Grandis Silve pius abbas dictus Helyas[80]
Sub duce legato proxima frena capit.
Parisius doctos abbas elegit, at illos
Duxit legatus munera larga pluens.[81].
Rupis Amatoris clivosa sede manebat[82]
Legatus triduo, sedis amore sacre.
Rupis in abrupto locus hic dependet, ibidem
Virginis et matris maxima mira micant.
Hec est cui cedit supplex Elegia, per quam
Risus succedit, mors dominata perit.
Illius hic meritis omnes devotio morbos
Diluit; hic, Ypocras, hic, Galiene, tace;[83]
Devote mentes artem, pronostica, curam,
Antidotum, spondent efficiuntque sibi.[84]
Firma fides sociata spei, dilectio fervens,
Ad dosim veniunt pondere pensa pari.

75 '*Bugaros*' reflects the putative Bulgarian origins of the Cathar heresy. '*Bugerus*' was also used mid-twelfth century for 'usurer'. On nomenclature, see Wakefield (1974), 30.

76 Read '*sacer*' for Wright's '*sacra.*' John describes Fulk as '*beatus*' at *DTE* 6.15. Fulk, a Cistercian, bishop of Toulouse (1205-31). On Fulk, see WP (Sibly & Sibly, xxi-xxii, xxviii, & 83-84, n. 12. There are frequent references to him in WP and the *Chronicle of William Pelhisson.* Some of his poetry survives and it is tempting to surmise that John acquired his knowledge of the vernacular from him, see Introduction, 4, 49.

77 The Cistercian abbey of Le Toronet, in Provence.

78 Fulk's mother and sons.

to be investigated, and to be burnt. God knows the nature of his private thoughts. His morality, his nobility from the stock of kings, his wealth, and his towns full of his men raised his esteem.

The man of letters, fire, and the sword root out the malefactors; Fulk, consecrated bishop in the city [of Toulouse], scythed them down. He had been a troubadour before, which made him a well-known citizen of Marseille, with wife, children and a house. <93> Entering the monastery of Le Toronet he strove in white habit, so that he could become whiter in his inner self. From being a monk he became an abbot, and then bishop of Toulouse, in which office he suffered many wrongs for the sake of his flock—insults, threats, travel, exile, sighs and grief, plunder, slights, and serious plots. Fulk's two sons have both been made abbots, and he, full of religion, consecrated his mother. He devoted much attention to the new *studium*, after Romano had consecrated it in the city. But the pious abbot of Grand Selve, called Élie, next took the reins, under the leadership of the legate. The abbot chose learned men from Paris, but the legate led them there, showering them with generous rewards. The legate stayed for three days in the precipitous retreat of Rocamadour, through love of this holy place. This spot was high up on a craggy cliff, and there shone forth the greatest of miracles by the Virgin mother. She it is to whom Elegia yields on bended knee, she through whom laughter comes back and death dies, defeated. Here devotion to her washes away all illnesses from the deserving. Hippocrates, Galen, fall silent in this place! Devout minds vouchsafe and put into effect for themselves medical skill, diagnosis, treatment, and medicament. Steadfast religious belief, coupled with hope, and ardent love deliver the antidote, given equal weightings in the balance. Confession is like an indication from the

79 Romanus, or Romano Bonaventura, papal legate 1225-31, who, with Fulk, introduced the inquisition process in Toulouse.

80 Helyas, or Élie Guérin, abbot of Grand Selve, an influential Cistercian abbey North of Toulouse. He was sent by Romano to broker the Treaty of Paris with Raymond VII.

81 John suggests generous incentives were paid. On the salaries, see Introduction, 5, 59 & n. 13. The detailed stipends at the outset, and the implied pecking order of the subjects taught, are set out in the Treaty of Paris.

82 Rubric in right margin, '*De miraculis gloriose Virginis Marie.*' Rocamadour, Lot, a site of pilgrimage to the cliff-top sanctuary of the Virgin, containing an image traditionally carved by St. Amator (Amador). Bull (1999), gives a full account of reported miracles. St. Amador was identified in French folklore with Zacchaeus, the biblical tax-collector, believed to have reached Aquitaine by sea from the Holy Land.

83 Hippocrates, 'the most famous physician of antiquity and one of the least known,' Oxford Classical Dictionary (2017). Galen of Pergamum (129 – *c.* 200 or *c.* 217 CE) was a practising surgeon, who wrote prolifically about both medicine and philosophy. His works were increasingly available from the eleventh century, through translations into Latin from Arabic and the original Greek.

84 See *Stella*, 64-75, for another vindication of divine, specifically Marian, healing over human medicine. Urine was the '*colamentum*'/ 'filter' of the blood.

Est velut urine signum confessio, mentis
Est colamentum, notificatque malum.
Propositum sanctum sequitur miseratio summa,
Sanans exterius interiusque lavans.
Est afforismus Christi: si tu bene credis, [98v][85]
Factaque si fuerint inclita, salvus eris.[86]
Est brevis hic sermo, describens integra queque
Clarificans sensum sub brevitate rei.
<94> Quid facit[87] herbarum gradus hic, opiata, syrupus?
Compositum, simplex hic medicamen[88] hebet.
Christi Virgo parens est, omnia prole potenti
Hic[89] operans, morti suscitat illa datos.
Integer apparet ibi sanctus Amator, amicus
Virginis, et nomen remque beatus habet.
Illic inspectis miris, precibusque peractis,
Tholosam clerus tutius explet iter.
Omnis in ecclesia Iuliani contio sancti[90]
Nostra fuit primo, parva sed apta tamen.
Hic abbas Grandis Silve dubio mihi sanctum
Edidit hunc, dicens Cenomanense decus.
'Sanctus Brivate Iulianus, sanctus et alter
Cenomanis, sanctum fertur habere locum.[91]
Est primus martir, confessor episcopus alter.
Amborum sanctus spiritus hospes erat.[92]
Tertius ut fama est Dominum transvexit ad amnem,
Fovit et in tepido membra beata thoro.
Temptatus meruit celum, cum coniuge martir,
Et Domini munus hospitis hospes habet.
Cenomanensis erat comes huic pater, et comitissa
Mater; ut est scriptis consona fama piis,
Corniger ut cervus predixit utrumque parentem
Occisurus erat, commiserante Deo.
Effugit ergo nephas peregrinans, sed peregrinus
Tempore post longo est factus uterque parens.
Hos pia sponsa viri pascit, lectoque reclinat
Itque foras. Absens vir Iulianus adest.
Mechari sponsam credens, occidit utrumque.

85 Read '*si*' with MS, for Wright's '*sed*.' Wright's punctuation is changed.
86 Rom. 10, 9.
87 '*hic*' is deleted after '*facit*' in MS.
88 '*habet*' is deleted from MS.
89 Read '*Hic*' for Wright's '*Haec*.'
90 Rubric in left margin, '*De quatuor sanctis Julianis exemplariter*.' 'The church of St. Julian' was on the river to the north, just outside the walls of the Bourg,' J. Mundy (2006), 40, with map, 10.

urine; it constitutes the waste matter of the mind, showing evidence of disease. The greatest mercy follows a holy purpose, healing the outside and flushing out the inside. It is a saying of Christ: If you truly believe, and if your deeds have been glorious, you will be saved. This short homily captures the whole meaning of everything, making its import clear through the sheer conciseness of its substance.

<94> What does this increasing reliance on herbs, opiates and syrup achieve here? Compounded or pure, medicines have no effectiveness in this place. It is the Virgin mother of Christ who makes all these things happen here through the power of her offspring. She brings back to life those who have been handed over to death. Saint Amator, friend of the Virgin, appears there as if he were alive, and he is blessed through his name and the love it conveys. Having witnessed miracles and having completed their prayers, the clergy completed their journey to Toulouse in greater security.

At first our whole congregation was housed in the church of Saint Julian, which was small but well-suited. Here the abbot of Grand Selve told a sceptical me about this saint, saying he was the glory of Le Mans:

'Saint Julian of Brioude and the other Saint Julian from Le Mans are said to occupy this holy place. The first was a martyr, the other a bishop and a confessor. The Holy Spirit resided in both of them.

The story goes that the third Saint Julian carried our Lord to a river, and revived his blessed limbs in his warm bed. He was tempted but won his way to Heaven. He was martyred with his wife, and as host he fulfils his duties to his guest, our Lord. His father was count of Le Mans, and the countess was his mother. As the story goes which accords with holy writings, as, through God's compassion, an antlered stag foretold, he was destined to kill both his parents. He therefore fled this evil prediction by going on a pilgrimage, but long afterwards both his parents became pilgrims. The devout wife of the man gave them a meal, had them lie down in her bed, and went outside. Julian her husband had been away, but arrived there, and thinking his wife was cheating on him, killed both the people

91 St. Julian of Brioude was a third century martyr and soldier, whose head was buried in Vienne with the body of his associate Ferreolus. Jean de Mailly refers to him as St Julian of Arvernia. Julian of Le Mans (*Cenomanensis*) was a third century holy man, a leper who became first bishop of Le Mans. He is confused in Jean de Mailly's and John's accounts with Julian *Hospitator* or *Paenitens*, also from Le Mans, a fourth century martyr said to have carried Christ across a river as a penance (lines 311-28). John's fourth St Julian was Julian of Antioch, husband of St. Basilissa (lines 329-38). See also JdeM, 349-52 & 77-81.

92 In MS '*erit*' is deleted and '*erat*' substituted.

Sed sponsa redit clamans, 'Est parricida miser!'
Hos iterum profugos purgavit pena piatrix,[93]
Martirio meruit[94] donec uterque Deum.'
Nauta Dei causa Dominum suscepit, egeni
In specie, celum quo Iulianus habet.
<95> Antiochenus erat Iulianus quartus; et idem
Civis cum sponsa virgine virgo virens.
Hiis Deus apparens votis respondit eorum
Et consignavit corda parata Deo.
Multos convertit virgo Basilissa, maritus
Quampluros; moritur sponsa polita polo.
Preside cum pravo fecit Iulianus agonem,
Cuius vix poterit nomen habere metrum.[95]
Dic ergo 'Marti', dic, 'Anus'; martius egit
In sancto martem, nomine teste suo.[96]
Templa deosque suos Iulianus vicit, et ipsum
Et tormenta, quibus gaudia victor habet.
Servi restituit oculum qui leserat ipsum [99r]
Quod tenebris positi non potuere dei.
In nihilum prorsus sunt templa redacta. Resurgit
Mortuus, et narrat Tartara visa sibi.
In vitam rediens credit. Confunditur istis
Preses, presidium non videt esse sibi.
In Christum credit proles uxorque tyranni,
Cuius degladiat corda cruenta dolor.
Sanctos esse feris laniandos precipit ille;
Elambunt sacros circueuntque pedes.
Ergo iubet gladio Iulianum subdere colla,
Consortesque suos quoslibet ire pares.
Deportat secum Iulianus ad horrea celi
Messem celestem se sociosque sacros.
Urbem tempestas ferit, et populus perit;[97] ortis
Vermibus emoritur preses aditque deos.
Demonis hereticus hospes tenebrosa subintrat[98]
Tartara, quem[99] semper torrida strata cremant.
Quippe Deum spernit, in demone spem sibi figit,
Qui nummos tanquam numina sacra colit.[100]
Incepto studio legatur epistola talis,
Sic aliis studiis verba soluta ferens.[101]

93 Wright's punctuation is changed to reflect direct speech.
94 Wright has no space between these words.
95 For unscannable words see *DTE*, 1.97 & n. 35.

in the bed. His wife returned shouting, 'He is a most wretched parricide!' They were again seeking to escape the crime, and were purged by a punishment which satisfied God, until each earned forgiveness through martyrdom. As a ferryman he fulfilled God's purpose by carrying the Lord disguised as a pauper, and by this act Julian dwells in Heaven.

<95> There was a fourth Julian from Antioch. He was a citizen of Antioch and a virgin in the prime of life, who was betrothed to a virgin. God appeared to them and responded to their prayers by committing their hearts, already prepared, to the service of God. This virgin Basilissa made many converts, and her husband likewise. She died, and Heaven was her crowning glory. Julian locked in combat with the wicked governor, whose name will barely scan. So say 'Marti' and '-anus;' a warlike man, he made war on the saint, as his name bears witness. Julian triumphed over his temples and gods, and over him personally and his instruments of torture, and rejoiced in his victory. He restored the eye of a slave who had injured it, a task which his gods, located in the shadows, could not achieve. Their temples were reduced to absolutely nothing. The slave rose after death, and said he had seen hell. Returning to life, he believed. The governor was overwhelmed by these events, and saw that he no longer had any defences. The tyrant's child and wife believed in Christ, and the pain this caused him gouged at his bloodthirsty heart. He gave orders for these holy people to be torn apart by wild beasts, but the animals licked their holy feet and followed them around. So he ordered Julian to submit his neck to the sword, and all his fellow-martyrs to do likewise. Julian took himself and his holy companions with him as the Heavenly harvest to the granaries of Heaven. A storm struck the city and the people died. The governor was consumed by a plague of worms and went to his gods.

The heretic slips as a guest into the shadowy hell of the Devil, where the paths burn perpetually and turn him to ashes. He who worships coins as if they were sacred deities rejects God and has fixed all his hopes in the Devil.

Now the *studium* has been founded, let a letter on the following lines be read out conveying to other *studia* its message unconstrained by the rules of metre.

96 According to Jean de Mailly, the local governor in Antioch was called Martianus. Punctuation is changed from Wright's to reflect the play on words.

97 N.b. the internal rhyme.

98 The purpose of the *studium* was to fight heresy. Lines 357-60 are an abrupt bridge to the section of the poem covering John's time in Toulouse, probably written in the 1230s. John is credited with drafting the prose 'recuitment advertisement'. For other reference to heretics as covetous usurers, see n. 20 above.

99 Read '*quem*' with MS, for Wright's '*quae.*'

100 N.b. John's pun on '*nummos*' and '*numina.*'

101 '*Verba soluta,*' Ovid, *Tr.*, 4.10.23-26. '*totoque Helicone relicto / … scribere conabar verba soluta modis. / Sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos, / et quod temptabam dicere versus erat.*'

<96> Se lector recreare potest quem metra fatigant
Edita cum vario sit mea Musa sono.

Epistola transmissa a magistris Tholosanis ad universalia studia alibi florentia[102]

Universis Christi fidelibus et precipue magistris et scolaribus ubicumque terrarum studentibus, presentes litteras inspecturis, universitas[103] magistrorum et scolarium Tholose studium in nova radice statuentium, vite bone perseverantiam exitu cum beato. Stabile fundamentum non invenit operatio, que non est in Christo, sancte matris Ecclesie fundamento, firmiter collocata. Nos igitur, hec attendentes, summo conamine nostro conati sumus in Christo Tholose studii philosophici fundamentum durabile collocare super quod edificent nobiscum[104] ceteri quorum bona voluntas sit ad hec Spiritus Sancti luminosis radiis illustrata. Dicit enim beatus Augustinus, 'Deus voluntatem bonam preparat adiuvandam et adiuvat preparatam,'[105] ipse quidem nolentem prevenit ut velit, volentem vero subsequitur ne frustra velit. Unde, dilectissimi, velitis et vos nobiscum bonam voluntatem Domino preparare, quam cum ipse preparatam inveniat ad opera sancta perducat, ut ubi pridem gladii viam nobis fecere, pugnetis acumine lingue; ubi bellica strages inhorruit, pacifica militetis doctrina; ubi pravitatis heretice silvestris spinetum excrevit, cedrus fidei catholice per vos ad sidera sublimetur. Et ne vos absterreat tanti laboris aggressio, viam vobis preparavimus. Prima tedia sustinuimus, vexillum securitatis vobis pretendimus, ut nobis vestris armigeris precedentibus valeatis vos philosophie [99r] milites, arpe[106] Mercurii, telis Phebi, lancea Minerve,[107] tutius militare. Ut iterum spem habeatis de incepti studii stabilitate, nobis onus iniunctum[108] auctoritate suscepimus Ecclesie. Erat enim Moyses, noster dominus cardinalis, et legatus in regno Francie,[109] dux et protector et autor post Deum et dominum Papam tam ardue incoationis, qui statuit quod omnes Tholose studentes et magistri et discipuli omnium peccaminum suorum plenariam indulgentiam consequantur. Ob hanc igitur causam, et propter continuitatem legendi disputandique quam magistri diligentius et crebrius exercent

102 The title is inserted by the rubricator, in line with a draft by the scribe. A text of this letter, based on Wright's, appears in *CUP*, 1, 129-31. For a recent edition see Schmidt (1998), and for recent analysis Gorochov (2016), 432-37. I am grateful to Susan Edgington for drawing my attention to a similar appeal to the Masters and Scholars of Paris by Pope Honorius III in 1217, also offering full remission of sins, *CUP*, 1, 83-84. None of the earlier papal language is borrowed here.

103 '*Universitas*' refers to the community of scholars; it should not be translated 'university,' see Verger (1992), 37-40.

104 Read '*nobiscum*' with MS, for Wright's '*nobiscunt.*'

105 St. Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 9. 32, 98-99, '*hominis voluntatem bonam et praeparat adiuvandam, et adiuvat praeparatam*'.

106 Read '*arpe,*' 'sword or scimitar,' with MS, not '*arte*' with Wright. See Ovid, *Met.*5.176, '*Cyllenide confodit harpe.*'

<96> The verse-weary reader can refresh himself; let my Muse be expressed with a quite different voice.

Letter sent by the masters of Toulouse to all *studia* thriving elsewhere

To all Christ's faithful, and especially to the masters and scholars who are engaged in study anywhere, and who are about to read this letter, the whole body of masters and scholars who are currently establishing a centre of study on new foundations in Toulouse wish you resoluteness in the good life, with a blessed departure from it. No endeavour can find a solid foundation unless it is firmly based in Christ, the underpinning of holy mother Church. Mindful of this, we have tried with all our might to place in Christ a lasting basis for our study of philosophy in Toulouse, on which others may build with us, whose good intent in this regard is lit by the bright rays of the Holy Spirit. For when St. Augustine says, 'God prepares a good intent so that he can assist it, and once it has been prepared, he gives his help,' he anticipates the unwilling man so that he becomes willing; and once he is willing, God comes to his aid, so that he should not be frustrated in his wish. Wherefore, dearly beloved, may you too form the will together with us to prepare a good intent for the Lord, which, when He finds it ready, He will guide to holy works, so that where once swords hacked out our way, you may fight by the cutting edge of your tongues. Where the slaughter of war once menaced, you will fight by teaching the ways of peace. Where the thorn-bush of the heretical forest of wickedness grew, through you let the cedar of the Catholic faith raise its head to the stars.

And lest tackling so great a task should frighten you away, we have prepared the way for you. We have borne the initial frustrations, we offer you the banner of personal safety, so that with us going before you as your squires, as warriors of philosophy you can confidently do your military service in greater safety, using the sword of Mercury, the arrows of Phoebus, and the spear of Minerva. To give you further reassurance of the soundness of the *studium* we have established, we have taken on this task in partnership with the authority of the Church. For the lord cardinal was our Moses, who as legate in the kingdom of France was our leader and protector, and, after God and our lord pope, initiator of this most difficult beginning. It was he who decreed that all members of the *studium* at Toulouse, both masters and pupils, would receive full remission of all their sins. For this reason, and because of the uninterrupted programme for reading and debate, to which the masters pay attention more frequently and with greater diligence than they used to in Paris, many scholars

107 The patron deities of poetry, music, and wisdom.
108 *CUP* has '*iniunctum,*' marginally preferable to Wright's '*invinctum.*' The text permits either.
109 Romano Bonaventura.

quam exercuerunt Parisius, multi scolares confluunt Tholosam, videntes quod flores iam apparuerunt in terra nostra, et tempus putationis advenit.[110]
Sicut idcirco nostrum Achillem novum<97> philosophie militantem nulla detineat Deidamia[111] quin alteram adeat Troiam, de qua sic iterum posset dicere Statius Tholosanus[112]:

'Omnis honos illic, illic ingentia certant
Nomina; vix timide matres, aut agmina cessant
Virginea. Hic multum steriles damnatus in annos
Invisusque deo, si quem hec nova gloria segnem[113]
Preterit.'

Induat igitur quilibet probus animosum Achillem, ne meticulosus Thersites occupet laurum promissam Aiaci magnanimo,[114] ut saltem bello finito stadium[115] militantium et studium philosophantium admiretur. Et ut libentius Tholose gloriam simul cum studio studiosi dinoscant, sciant hanc alteram esse terram promissionis fluentem lac et mel,[116] ubi fetose pascue virent, ubi arbores pomifere frondent, ubi Bacchus regnat in vineis, ubi Ceres imperat in arvis[117], ubi temperatus aër antiquis philosophis fuerat consideratis terre stadiis preelectus. O, quam incomprehensibilia sunt omnipotentis Dei[118] magnalia!

'Hic est pax; alibi toto Mars sevit in orbe.[119]
Sed Martem prius et mortem locus iste recepit.'

Praeterea ne ligones ad steriles et incultos deferatis agros, vobis magistri Tholose legentes tribulos plebee ruditatis et spinas aspere sterilitatis, ceteraque removerunt obstacula. Hic enim theologi discipulos in pulpitis et populos in compitis informant; logici liberalibus in artibus tirones Aristotilis erudiant; gramatici balbutientium linguas in analogiam[120] effigiant. Organiste populares aures melliti

110 Cant. 2, 12, '*flores apparuerunt in terra, tempus putationis advenit.*' The biblical context makes this a metaphor of spring, intellectual in this case. '*Putatio*' can also mean 'thinking,' as well as the commoner translation, 'pruning.'

111 Read '*Sicut*' with MS, not '*Et*' with Wright. In Greek mythology, Deidamia was a daughter of king Lycomedes, at whose court Thetis had hidden her son Achilles, disguised as another of his daughters to avoid recruitment to the Greek expedition to Troy.

112 Statius was widely believed to have come from Toulouse. See O.A.W. Dilke, ed., *Statius' Achilleid* (Cambridge, 1954), 3. This was due to a confusion with the first century rhetorician, Statius Ursulus Tolosanus.

113 Statius, *Achilleid*, 1. 798-802. In l. 801, the MS has the singular '*deo*' for Statius' '*deis*,' a Christian tweak to John's text.

114 In Homer's Iliad, 2.212-77,Thersites was a loud-mouthed Greek soldier, beaten by Odysseus for berating Agamemnon and urging abandonment of the expedition to Troy. John appears to mean that the most qualified volunteers should come to Toulouse to make sure that they bestow (academic) prizes, as Achilles did at Patroclus' funeral games in the Iliad, on worthy people rather than rabble-rousers. It is difficult to pin down the analogy.

are converging on Toulouse, seeing that flowers have now appeared in our soil, and the time for pruning has arrived.

<97> Just as, for that reason, let no Deidamia hold back our new Achilles, battling for philosophy, from coming to this second Troy. Statius of Toulouse could again say [about the city],

> 'All honour is there, there great names contend.
> Scarcely can the fearful mothers, or the serried ranks of virgins hold him back.
> He who allows this new glory to pass him by in idleness is heavily condemned to fruitless years, and hated by God.'

Let all men of breeding therefore take on the guise of brave Achilles, and prevent some cowering Thersites from snatching the laurel wreath of victory promised to great-hearted Ajax, so that at least now the war is over, this stadium for knights and *studium* for philosophers should attract glory. And just so that alongside their study the academics may perceive the splendour of Toulouse with greater pleasure, let them know that this is a second promised land, flowing with milk and honey. Where there are green, manured pastures, where apple trees stand in leaf, where Bacchus rules in the vineyards and Ceres holds sway in the fields, where the temperate climate was preferred by the philosophers of old after they had given due consideration to all the world's acres. Oh how unfathomable are the great deeds of almighty god!

> 'Here is peace, yet elsewhere Mars rampages over the whole world.
> Yet this place welcomed war and death before.'

In addition, so that you should not apply your hoes to barren and neglected fields, the masters of Toulouse have picked up and removed from your path the thorny abrasiveness of the people, the spines of barren harshness, and other things that stood in your way. For here theologians teach their pupils in pulpits and the people at street corners, logicians instruct novices of Aristotle in the liberal arts, grammarians fashion their stammering tongues to the rules of grammar. *Organiste* soothe the ears

115 Read '*stadium*' with MS for Wright's first '*studium.*'
116 Bar. 1, 20.
117 Bacchus and Ceres, Roman deities respectively responsible for wine and corn.
118 Omit '*O',* with Wright, marked as deleted in MS, before '*magnalia.*'
119 Vergil, *Georg.* 1. 511, '*saevit toto Mars impius orbe.*' These two lines, otherwise John's own, are in the epic hexameter metre.
120 '*Analogia,*' like '*ratio*' summarises the regularities of grammar, Copeland & Sluiter (2009), 280-81, n. 53.

gutturis organo[121] demulcent; decretiste Iustinianum extollunt et a latere medici predicant Galienum.[122] Libros naturales qui fuerant Parisius prohibiti poterunt illic audire qui volunt nature sinum medullitus perscrutari.[123] Quid deerit vobis igitur? Libertas scolastica?[124] Nequaquam, quia nullius habenis dediti, propria gaudebitis libertate. An timetis malitiam populi sevientis? Vel tirannidem principis iniuriosi? Ne timeatis, quia comitis Tholosani liberalitas nobis sufficientem fecit securitatem, et de salario nostro et de servientibus nostris Tholosam venientibus et redeuntibus, quod si detrimentum rerum suarum [100r] patiantur per manus predonum in dominio comitis, malefactores nostros ad satisfactionem tanquam pro Tholosanis civibus per vires Tholosani capitolii persequetur.

Predictis adhuc adicimus, quod, sicut speramus veraciter, dominus legatus theologos et decretistas alios adhuc advocabit ad auctmentationem studii, tempusque determinabit per quod oporteat scolares[125] Tholose propter indulgentiam commorari, si moram illorum non impediat, quod Deus advertat, ille prevaricator <98> invidus humani generis, ut consequenter locum et gentem tollant Romani, per Crucis salutifere triumphale misterium dimicantes. De foro rerum venalium fugata caristia, per praedictam percipere poteritis certitudinem, et super hec tam fame[126] quam nuntio credatis, et hiis versibus:

'Pro parvo vinum, pro parvo panis habetur.
Pro parvo carnes, pro parvo piscis emetur'

121 '*organum*' was a form of plainchant, where an accompanying part was sung above or below the main melody. This is an unusually early reference to polyphony. See Aubrey (1997), who translates 'the *organistae* of the people charm the ears with *organum* of a honey-sweet throat.' I am grateful to Professor Rob Wegman for drawing this to my attention, and for his advice on other musical references. Consistently with the rest of John's catalogue of specialists, I would venture to translate '*organiste* soothe the ears of the [local] people with *organum* of a honey-sweet throat.' The experiment was short-lived. According to Aubrey, 'The southern composers … . maintained their own traditions until the end of the [thirteenth] century, and from all evidence the southern ethos was barely touched by indigenous northern products or practices … .'

122 Read '*Galenum*' for '*Galienum*' in MS and Wright.

123 '*libros naturales.*' John refers here to Aristotle's 'Physics' and 'Metaphysics,' banned in Paris in 1210. See Bianchi (2007), 110-12, Wei (2012), 95.

of the people with the *organum* of a honeyed throat, canon lawyers sing the praises of Justinian, and doctors preach Galen from the wings.

There, those who want to probe the inner recesses of science to the very marrow will be able to listen to those scientific books which had been banned in Paris. So what will you lack? Student freedom? Not at all, since you will not be subjected to anyone's reins, but you will rejoice in personal freedom. Or are you afraid of the hostility of a vicious local populace? Or the tyranny of an unjust prince? Have no fear, since the generosity of the count of Toulouse has provided us with adequate security, both regarding our stipend and our servants on their journeys to and from Toulouse. So that if they suffer any damage to their personal belongings at the hands of robbers in the count's domain, using the forces of the Capitoul of Toulouse he will pursue those who harm us for redress on the same basis as if we were citizens of Toulouse.

Above and beyond the foregoing, as we truly hope, the lord legate will summon even more theologians and lawyers to augment the *studium,* and will determine the period for which Scholars should stay to secure the indulgence, so long as the Devil, that betrayer of the human race, places no delay in their way, –which may God forefend–, so that they can as a result raise up the place and the community of Romano, battling on by means of the conquering mystery of the Cross of salvation.

You will be able to see from the assurances already stated that high prices for goods on sale in the market have been banished; more than that, you should also believe this as much from rumour as from reports, as well as from these verses:

'Wine is going for a song,
And so is bread.
Meat can be bought for little
And so can fish.'

124 This is not a general reference to 'academic freedom,' but a relaxation of the Paris rule that a student had to be tied to a specific master (see Introduction, 56), who monitored his conduct as well as his studies.

125 Presumably remission of sins was a weaker incentive to the young students than to the Doctors. This reference to Scholars suggests difficulty in ensuring that they stayed long enough to complete their course. There was also uncertainty about how long the Paris strike would last, and how Scholars and Masters would act when it ended.

126 Read '*fama*' with sense for '*fame*' in MS and Wright.

De curialitate populi non est pretermittendum, videtur enim hic facetia curialis
435 cum militia simul et cum clero federa pepigisse. Si volueritis igitur bona plura quam prediximus admirari, paterna postponatis hospitia, collis manticas maritando, illud morale dictum[127] Senece complectendo, 'Terras omnes tamquam meas videbo, meas tamquam omnium, sicque[128] vivam quasi sciam aliis me natum[129] esse.' Est enim 'alta temptare et mente maiora concipere' res homini generosa.[130]

127 *CUP* omits '*dictum*.'
128 Read '*sicque*' with MS, not '*sic quod*' with Wright. *CUP* also has '*sic quod*.'
129 Seneca *De vita beata* 20.3. Read '*natum*' with Wright for '*notum*' in MS.
130 *De vita beata* 20.2.

I should not pass over the good nature of the local residents, since it appears that the ready and friendly humour here has established a bond both with both the military and the clergy. So if you want to feast your eyes on even more blessings than we have already described, put the cosiness of your father's home behind you, put your knapsacks round your necks, and embrace that worthy dictum of Seneca, 'I shall regard all lands as my own, and my own lands as belonging to all; and I shall live on the basis that I am born for others.' For it is a noble thing for a man to 'attempt lofty projects, and conceive of greater things in your heart.'

Book 6

Incipit liber sextus, de mirabilibus quae contigerunt tunc per diversas terras

<99>Annum millenum Domini, centum bis et annos
Vigintique novem semita solis agit.
Sanguine Parisius studium dissolvitur.[1] Orbe
In toto sentit prelia sacra Syon.[2]
Andegavis studium quod particulare coheret,[3]
Illud dissolvunt proxima bella novum.
Gentibus, heu! Miseris elementa minantur. Inundat
Unda nimis, turbat aëra tristis hiems.
Trecensis ruit ecclesie sublime cacumen,
Et turres multas ventus ad ima iacit.[4]
Parisius lapsa est fratrum domus alta minorum
Valle quidem viridi quam statuere sibi.[5]
Italiam terre motus perterret et ether
Intonat horribilis subsequiturque fames.[6]
Tholosam ferit ista fames, sed Fulco beatus
Pauperibus vitam prorogat ere, cibo.[7]
Tunc ibi de Pascha fuit ignorantia multis
Illis; quam dederam regula talis erat:[8]
'Tres primas scriptas post stelle festa requiras.
Inde dies Domini tertia Pascha colet.
Tertia prima Domini si forte tenebit,
Esse trium primus postulat ille dies.
<100> Non est curandum si currat mobile Pascha;
Instat qui moveat omnia summa dies.'[9]
Illic exegi spatio studiosa trienni
Tempora, Romano sub duce lector ibi.
Virgine de sacra sponsalia carmina legi[10] [100v]
Legato Bituris, que recitata dedi.

1 *CM*, 3.166-68 describes the vigorous reaction of Blanche of Castile, acting as regent, to drunken riots by the clerks of the Paris schools in 1229, and the dispersal of the Masters and Scholars, many of them to Angers. See Grant (2016), 96-99, & Gorochov (2016), 415-45, for detailed accounts of the dispute.

2 John makes Jerusalem the symbol of Christendom. In 1229, The Emperor Frederick II secured Christian control of Jerusalem without a battle, but his own territories were attacked by John de Brienne and pro-papal forces in Italy.

3 Rashdell (1895), 2, 150-51, observes that Angers was becoming a *studium generale,* while John describes it as '*particulare,*' usually interpreted as a centre which specialized, in this case in civil law. See also Verger (1992) 35-37. Weijers (1987), 34-40, conveniently summarises the arguments, concluding however that a precise meaning for '*studium generale*' did not crystallise until the end of the thirteenth century. John may just mean 'separate.' He seems to say that this new *studium* was

Book 6

Here begins the sixth book, about the miracles which occurred then in various lands

<99> The path of the sun is passing through the year of our Lord 1229. The *studium* of Paris is being disbanded in bloodshed, and holy Syon is enduring wars all over the world. Recent battles are destroying in its infancy the specialised academic community which is coming together at Angers. Alas for the various nations! They were miserable as the elements menaced them, there was extensive flooding, and the gloomy winter caused strong winds. The topmost pinnacle of a church at Troyes crashed down, and the wind sent many towers tumbling. In Paris the tall house of the Friars Minor collapsed, which they had established in a green valley. An earthquake terrified Italy, the menacing sky crashed with thunder, and famine followed. That famine also struck Toulouse, but the blessed Fulk saved the lives of the poor by providing money and food. At that time many people there did not know [the facts] about Easter. The rule I had given them was as follows: 'Count the opening days of the three [ecclesiastical] months written in the calendar after the feast of Epiphany. Working from there, the third Sunday will be celebrated as Easter. If the first day of the third month is a Sunday, that day has to be counted as the first of the three Sundays. <100> Don't be concerned if the date of Easter moves around; that Last Day which must cause everything to move is at hand.'

There I pursued my studies for three years, as a teacher under Romano's leadership. At Bourges I read aloud a wedding poem about the holy Virgin, and after I had recited it

prematurely disrupted, due perhaps to the result of Blanche's occupation of Angers in 1230 in her campaign against Peter of Brittany, who was supported by Henry III's abortive invasion.

4 The cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul at Troyes was severely damaged by '*ventus validissimus*' on 10 November, 1228, Alberic des Trois Fontaines, *MGH SS*, 23.922. *CM*, 3.158 notes serious autumn storms in 1228, causing much destruction, but not in 1229.

5 The Franciscan church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine was authorised in 1223 and constructed in Vauvert, on the site of the present-day Jardin de Luxembourg. It collapsed in 1228 or 1229. Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam,* ed. A.G. Little, p. 47, notes that many Franciscans thought the church too elaborate and prayed to St. Francis for its destruction. See also Davis (2011).

6 The punctuation differs from Wright's.

7 For Fulk's generosity, see WP, 34.

8 See *DTE,* 5. 129-34 for further reflections on the *computus*, and a close echo of line 24.

9 'Read '*moveat*' for Wright's '*moneat*'. Vergil, *Aen*. 2.324, '*Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus.*'

10 A reference to *Epithalamium.* Its prologue states that the legate Romano '*mihi praecepit in Concilio Bituricensi quo librum Tholose legerem.*' This poses dating problems since the Council of Bourges, over which Romano presided, took place in 1225, four years before John took up his post in Toulouse. Paetow (MS 108-09, and n. 4) therefore suggested amending to '*Biterris* / Béziers.' This can however be explained if John had been to Toulouse before; see also Introduction, 1, 23-24. Saiani accepts this

Illum cum clero toto plebs prava necare[11]
Clam studuit; sed non pertulit ista comes.
Cardetum falx aggreditur; doctrina recidit
Ramnos et tribulos, vivificatque rosas.[12]
Frondet in eloquium divisa scientia; ramus
Qui sapit egreditur eloquiumque regit.[13]
Tres habet eloquium ramos quos ordine tendit,
Gramaticam, logicam, rethoriceque thimum.
Hinc speculativam gignit sapientia; gignit
Hunc ramum cuius practica nomen erit.[14]
Practica dat ramum qui dicitur ethica, cuius
Corpus divisum triplice fronde viret.
Providet hec urbi, domuique sibique vicissim;
Debet enim prudens providus esse sibi.
Dat celeste logos speculatio; dans ea fisim
Et mathesim, ducta triplice fronde viret.
Dinumerat mathesis, mensurat, consonat; astris
Instudet et vere singula scire facit.
Eulogium tendo divinis,[15] tendoque fisim
Hiis qui secretis insenuere suis.
Musica cuncta ligat, mundana, humana,[16] sed inde
Instrumentalis triplice calle meat.
Se melice metrica, metrice se rithmica iungit,
Sed melice[17] dulcis est via secta[18] triplex.

possibility in his excellent analysis of the dating problem in *EBVM,* pp. 25-27, and nn. 54-56, referring also to pre-existing schools in Toulouse following Honorius' earlier initiative, *DTE,* 5, n. 102.

11 A critical reference to the attack on Romano and his entourage by a group of 140 Scholars and eighty Masters of Paris in 1225 immediately prior to the Council, following a legal dispute. Romano banned the Scholars from teaching but the Masters were pardoned at the Council. John contrasts the orderly governance of Toulouse under Count Raymond VII. See Dunstable Annals, p. 98, Kay (2002), 250-53, 290-304. Gorochov (1216), 358-61.

12 A highly abbreviated and cramped rubric is in the left margin of the MS, '*De ratione scientiarum quae Tolose legebantur.*' Elsewhere in the MS such entries are drafts for the fair copies of rubrics, but there is no fair copy. This is because the illustration leaves no space for the rubric. Both this and the rubric at n. 20 below are cramped because of the size of the 'tree of knowledge,' **Plate 7, p. 301**, the most ambitious illustration in the MS. The bird represents the Holy Spirit, from which knowledge flows. John's description of the curriculum, and the accompanying diagram, owe much to Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalion,* e.g. Book 2, chapters 1, 12, 18, 19.

13 Note the continuation of botanical imagery. This description refers to the 'tree of knowledge' diagram, and sets out the traditional hierarchy of subjects. The '*trivium*' of grammar, logic and rhetoric underpin the '*quadrivium*', comprising arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy, *EBVM,* 3.105-06.

14 Punctuation varies from Wright, who has '*speculativam gignit sapientia,*'.

15 Lines 47-48 seem to say that John has high praise for students of theology and leaves them to deal with natural science. But the language is difficult.

I dedicated it to the legate. The wicked crowd [in Paris] plotted in secret to kill him together with all his clergy, but the count would not allow that to happen [in Toulouse]. The sickle cuts down the thistles, and education cuts back the branches and thorns, and brings the roses back to life.

[The tree of] knowledge is split, and burgeons into eloquence; a bough tasting of philosophy branches from it, and eloquence leads in the right direction. Eloquence has three branches, which it offers in this order, grammar, logic and the thyme flavouring of rhetoric. At this point philosophy begets theoretical philosophy and the branch which is to be called practical science. Practical science in turn gives the branch called ethics, and the body of ethics is divided into three thriving shoots. Ethics looks in turn to the interests of the city, the family and one's self, since a prudent man ought to look to his own welfare. Theory gives us Heavenly logic (theology), along with natural science and mathematics, flourishing in triple strands. Mathematics counts, measures, harmonises; it seeks to understand the stars, and enables us to know them truly one by one. I offer praise to men who study divine matters, and I offer natural science to them, who have grown old in its mysteries. Music binds everything together, the music of the spheres, the music of the human body, and then music played on instruments follows a threefold route. Metre joins up with melody, and rhythm links with metre, but the way of sweet melody is split three ways. It offers for study the enharmonic

Plate 7. MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, f. 100v, 'Tree of knowledge', *DTE*, 6.33-56.

16 Boethius *De Institutione Musica,* 1.2 subdivides music into three categories, '*mundana*', '*humana*', and '*instrumentalis.*'

17 A play on '*mel*' / 'honey'. Jeserich points out that John's use of '*melica,*' rather than the more usual '*harmonica*' suggests that William of Conches' commentary on the *Timaeus* is among his sources. On the possibility that John was also the author of works on music, see Introduction, 1, 27-28.

Dat studiis enarmonicam, variisque coreis
Aptam cromaticam, ditonicamque tubis.[19]
Ultima Tholose viguit dum venimus illuc,
Et stupuit melice bellica turba modis.
<101> Silvas commovit Orpheus[20] modulamine plectri,
Fecit et Amphion[21] saxa salire lira.
Non cantatorum modulos intelligo tantum,
Quilibet est Orpheus promptus in arte sua.
Surgit ab hiis livor et ab hoc elegia belli,
Qua cessat studium fructificusque labor.
Italus huc veniens ad robora nostra magister
Rolandus verbi claruit ense sacri.[22]
Forti Rolando maior quia corpora stravit
Ille, sed hereticum contudit ille nephas.
Gaudia qui vana Galvani tradidit igni
Dispar Galvano nam fuit iste probo.
Iste probus fuerat Arthuri tiro facetus;
Inprobus iste, dolis plenus, inopsque boni.
Non solum sanctos spreverunt, sed sacra scripta,[23]
Heretici quorum serpit ab ore dolus.
De spe deque fide suevi retinere libellum,
Huic et apostolica gesta ligata tuli.[24]
Illis exposui quadam brevitate tenorem;
De sancto fuerat pagina prima Petro.
Petri martirium vidit tricesimus annus
Et sextus postquam venit ad astra Ihesus. [101r]
Octavum numerant quidam quia cronica distant
Inter se, Petrus in cruce quando fuit.[25]
Hic cruce, sed gladio venit ad celestia Paulus,
Exauctusque Deo reddere gaudet oves.[26]
Pomposum vicere magum qui lapsus ab alto
Sanctorum precibus venit ad ima Stigis.[27]

18 '*secta*' replaces '*facta,*' which is deleted in the MS.
19 Read '*tubis,*' with MS, for Wright's '*cubis,*' and repunctuate lines 52-54, with the sense. See Waite (1960), 185, n. 30.
20 Orpheus (two syllables), son of Apollo and a Muse, famed for his musical skills.
21 Amphion, son of Zeus and Antiope, who charmed the stones of the city walls with his lyre.
22 Roland of Cremona (1178-1259), see Introduction, Ch. 5, nn. 19 & 22. John compares his battle against heresy with Roland's campaigns against the Moors in the *Chanson de Roland*. John also compares Galvanus, an alleged heretic, with Gawain (Galvanus), nephew of King Arthur. Roland of

scale, the chromatic suitable for various kinds of dance music, and the diatonic suitable for trumpets. This last named thrived in Toulouse when we arrived, and the bloodthirsty mob was dulled by the modes of melody. <101> Orpheus moved forests by the harmonies of his lyre, and Amphion made the rocks dance with his. I am not so much of an expert in the melodies of singers, whoever else might be an Orpheus, skilled in his art.

Resentment swelled up in these people, and out of that a sad song of war, which caused the *studium* and its valuable work to come to a halt.

Roland, an Italian master, came to Toulouse to add to our strength. He distinguished himself with the sword of the holy word. He was a greater man than brave Roland because while that Roland spread the ground with dead bodies, he crushed the evil of heresy. He consigned the empty joys of Galvanus to the fire; for this Galvanus was no match for that other noble Galvanus (Gawain), who had been Arthur's courtly champion. This man was ignoble, full of tricks, and lacking in any good quality.

These heretics, from whose mouths deceit slithers, held not only the saints but also the holy scriptures in contempt. I used to keep with me the book about hope and faith, and I bound to it the Acts of the Apostles. I gave them the general drift in shortened form.

The first page was about Saint Peter, whose martyrdom took place in the thirty-sixth year after Jesus ascended into Heaven. Some say the thirty-eighth, because the historical accounts are inconsistent about when Peter was crucified. He died on the cross, but Paul was despatched to Heaven by the sword, and, all the stronger, rejoiced to return His flock back to God. They prevailed over a vain-glorious magician who fell from a great height and went to the Stygian depths through the prayers of the saints.

Cremona burnt Galvanus' house, disinterred his body and carried it through the streets of Toulouse, and burnt it. (William of Pelhisson, 88).

23 Rubric in right margin, '*Hic ponuntur exempla et miracula apostolorum contra hereticos.*'

24 '*libellum,*' John seems to be referring to a physical book, which was probably the four gospels bound together with the Acts of the Apostles. See Introduction, 1, 28 & 5, 61.

25 John dates Peter's martyrdom thirty-six years after Christ's death. Eusebius has thirty-seven years, and Jerome thirty-eight.

26 Read '*exauctus*' with MS, not Wright's '*exauctas.*'

Sic venit hereticis planctus, sic gloria iustis,
Sic lamenta malis, gaudia vera bonis.
Offendens Romam Nero tortor ab urbe timore
Exit; distractus non habet inde locum.[28]
Andreas urbis Patere pater in cruce pendens[29]
Circa se meruit lumen habere Dei;
<102> Spiritus assiluit celo, sed demone multo
Mortuus Egeas mortis in antra ruit.
Audax invidie Iacobus[30] populator Hebree
Herodis gladio celica cesus habet.
Hermogenem prius ipse magum multos et Hebreos
Gentilesque sacram fecit habere fidem.
Illius frater[31] Epheso dormivit, at alter
Ierusalem Iacobus[32] presul habebat oves.
A summo templo fuit hic deiectus Hebreis.
Stantem fullonis pertica stravit eum.
In Sicia[33] Martem vicit fregitque Philippus[34]
Hicque triumphantis fixerat arma crucis.
Pars Asiae Frigia qua semina sparserat ante
Vite Christicola gente recepit eum.
Illic decessit senior, digneque sepulto
Corpore pro iustis mens agit ante Deum.[35]
Indorum gladio Thomas transfertur Olimpo
Architectus enim celica tecta tenet.[36]
India, quam tangit lenis[37] Oceanus, sacra verba
Vomere multiplicat, Bartholomee, tuo.[38]
Astiagis regis subvertens numina nigra,
Celi regna capit cesus ab ense caput.
Iudeis Grecisque Matheus semina spargens
Ethiopum gladio victima sancta fuit.[39]
Consortes Symon et Iudas[40] docmate, morte,
Spe, mercede, dabant se sacra[41] digna Deo.
Persas et Parthos docuerunt, et Babilonis
Cives et regem suppositosque duces.

27 Simon Magus, Act. 8, 9-24. Subsequent apocyryphal literature, echoed in various Saints' Lives, credited the prayers of Peter and Paul with causing his death while flying, e.g Golden Legend, 89.2.

28 Nero died in 68. Suetonius, Nero, 47-48.

29 St. Andrew's martyrdom was traditionally in Patras, at the hands of the Roman governor Aegeas. The saints' lives tell of a bright radiance at the time of his death, JdeM, 11.

30 St. James the Apostle (son of Zebedee, and brother of John, commonly called 'the Greater', to distinguish him from St. James 'the Less'). His remains were believed to be housed in Santiago di Compostella, JdeM, 246-55.

31 St. John the Apostle and evangelist.

That is just how woe comes to heretics and glory to the virtuous; just how lamentations came to the wicked and true joys to the good. Nero, the torturer, outraged Rome and left out of fear. He was wholly distraught and had no place to go. [Saint] Andrew, a father of the Church, deserved to have God's light around him as he hung on the cross in Patras. <102> Aegeas' spirit leapt into the sky, but dead through the agency of many demons, he plunged into the caverns of death. Brave James, who broke down the arrogance of the Jews, dwells in Heaven after being slain by Herod's sword. Before that he brought to the holy faith Hermogenes the magician and many Jews and gentiles. His brother fell asleep in Ephesus, but the other James tended his sheep as bishop in Jerusalem. He was hurled down from the roof of the Temple by the Jews; a fuller's club felled him as he stood. Philip defeated Mars and smashed him to pieces in Scythia; he had firmly implanted the weapons of the victorious Cross. Phrygia, a part of Asia with a Christian population, embraced him; he had sown his seeds there earlier in his life. He died there an old man; his body received a deserving burial and his soul is devoted to the cause of the just before God.

Thomas' passage to Olympus was effected by the Indians' sword; he was an architect and occupies the Heavenly dwellings. India, which gentle Ocean laps, spread the holy words using your ploughshare, Bartholomew. He overturned the black deities of King Astyages and took his place in the realms of Heaven after being beheaded with a sword. Matthew sowed his seeds among the Jews and Greeks, and became the holy victim of the Ethiopians' sword. The close colleagues Simon and Jude offered themselves as a worthy sacrifice to God, by their teaching, their deaths, their hope and their reward. They instructed the Persians and Parthians,

32 St. James the Apostle, son of Alpheus, 'the Less', JdeM, 169-74.

33 A variant of *Scythia.*

34 John says that St. Philip the Apostle died peacefully in old age in Hierapolis in Phrygia. JdeM, 167-69, has this version, but there was a strong patristic tradition that he was martyred. Jean de Mailly also has the story of Philip persuading the Scythians to destroy a statue of Mars before he could successfully expel a dragon.

35 Read '*digneque sepulto,*' with MS, for Wright's '*digno sepulcro.*'

36 St. Thomas the apostle traditionally was an architect, who went to Kerala, India and was ultimately martyred there, JdeM, 23-30.

37 Read '*lenis*' for Wright's '*levis.*'

38 Bartholomew also was traditionally martyred by beheading in India, on the testimony of Eusebius and Jerome. According to JdeM, 341-46, he caused '*ingentem maurum nigriorem fuligine*' to disappear.

39 Both Christian and some Islamic traditions associate St. Matthew's ministry and death with Ethiopia, e.g. JdeM, 392-95.

Hiis iustis Zaroes magus Arfaxatque nephandus
Obstrepitant; angues carminis arte novant.
Anguibus hiis implent sua sancti pallia, mittunt
Hos in eos, torquent morsibus ergo magos.
Dum miseri clamant ululando more lupino,
Sanctorum pietas inclita sanat eos.
<103> Diffamant tamen hos, celesti fulmine donec
Percussi cessant, supplicioque gemunt.
Urbis prelati Samuyr[42] stravere beatos,
Sed mortis speciem non reperire queo. [101v]
Xerses rex sanctis construxit nobile templum,
In quo sanctorum plurima mira micant.
Pro Iuda sumptum voluit Deus esse Mathiam,
Ex decies septem sorte iubente viris.
Hic verbi virtute sacri confundit Ebreos
Dum cecos propria lege probavit eos.[43]
Barnabas in metro veniat, metro licet hostis[44]
Sit nomen; ratio vox sit Ebrea tamen.
Filius est dictus Salaminis,[45] almus eundem
Spiritus elegit, supposuitque sibi.
Ex septem decies[46] fuit hic pariterque duobus
Discipulis socius, Paule beate, tuus.[47]
Iam conversus eras anno, pie Paule, secundo
Ut subiecta sibi venit ad astra Iesus.
Ante Joseph dictus fuerat, qui vendidit agrum,
Misit apostolicis gressibus omne suum.[48]
Hinc et apostolus est dictus, quia factus eorum
Nuntius et Christi, nuntia vera tulit.
Passus in urbe cadit Salamina; torquet eundem
Livor Ebreus, equo distrahit, igne cremat.
In mare ne sanctus mittatur, surripit illum
Turba fidelis, eum clam sepelire studens.
Lucas testatur quod post tormenta Iohannes
Marcus qui fuerat, intumulavit eum.[49]

40 The apostles Simon Zelotes (Luc. 6, 14-16), and Judas, son of James (St. Jude), JdeM, 444-47. Compare John's '*anguibus his implent sancti pallia*' with JdeM, 445 '*apostoli pallia sua serpentibus impleverunt.*'

41 '*digno*' is deleted here in the MS.

42 Suanir, in Iran. There are many versions of the saints' martyrdom, one of which suggests they were sawn in half there. John's account follows closely Bartholomew of Trent, 323-27, who does not specify how they died.

43 Act. 1, 23 records the selection by lot of St. Matthias to replace Judas.

including the citizens of Babylon and their king and the leaders under his rule. The sorcerer Zaroes and the unspeakable Arfaxat got into a dispute with these righteous men. They conjured up snakes by the art of incantation. The apostles filled their holy cloaks with these snakes and targeted them at the sorcerers; so they wracked the sorcerers with pain from their bites. As they howled in their wretchedness like wolves, the saints' outstanding piety made them healthy again. <103> The sorcerers continued to speak ill of the saints, until they were struck by holy lightning and silenced, and groaned at their punishment. The priests of Suanir slew the saints. But I cannot discover the manner of their deaths. King Xerxes built a fine temple for the saints, in which very many miracles performed by the saints shine forth.

God wanted Matthias to be chosen in place of Judas, and he was picked by lot from seventy men. He overwhelmed the Jews by the excellence of the holy word, and proved them blind through their own law.

Let Barnabas appear in verse, even though his name defies metre; the reason is that it is a Hebrew word. He is said to be a son of Salamis; the benign spirit chose him, and made him its servant. Out of the seventy-two disciples, he was your close associate, blessed Paul. Holy Paul, you had already been converted in the second year after Jesus went to the stars which are subject to Him. Previously Barnabas had been called Joseph. He sold his land and put all his wealth at the feet of the apostles. Hence Paul is also called an apostle, because he was made both their messenger and Christ's, and bore the true message. Barnabas suffered and fell in the city of Salamis. The envy of the Jews tortured him, dragged him from his horse and burned him to ashes. To prevent the saint's remains being thrown into the sea, the crowd of the faithful seized them intent on burying them secretly. Luke testifies that after his ordeal John, formerly Mark, erected a tomb for him.

44 Clearly '*Barnabas*' was pronounced with the last syllable long. John makes a similar joke about '*In-nocentius*', *DTE* 1, n. 35. Here he deliberately breaks the rules of scansion.

45 Read '*Salaminis*' for '*solaminis*' in MS and Wright, JdeM, 199-201. All versions of Barnabas' martyrdom attribute his death to a group of Jews in Cyprus. John sticks closely to Jean de Mailly's version. If John had been the scribe, this error would have been unlikely.

46 Luc. 10, 1.

47 Act. 13, 2.

Istis expositis, mihi gesta Georgius offert,[50]
Que legi verso margine scripta libri.[51]
Exemplis volui duros mollire, rudesque
Informare, graves flectere voce mea.[52]
Qui cano militiam faveas mihi, sancte Georgi,
Cum sis mirificus miles ad arma Dei.
<104> Pauperibus tribuit large possessa tribunus[53]
Qui de Capadocum gente beatus erat.
In partes rota dira decem distorserat illum,
Sed qui fecit Adam dextra refecit eum.
Fecerat hoc[54] Christus cum multis milibus urbis
Angelice, pugilis ductus amore sui.
Tiro tronos veteres Daciani fronde virere
Et fructu fecit surgere ligna novo.[55]
Te fissam[56] mendax in abissum mersit Apollo
Idola comminuit que nituere tua.[57]
Qui putres cineres annis iacuere ducentis
Ad se delato pulvere stare iubet.
Surgunt bis centum triginta duoque reducti
In vitam; Iobel[58] prefuit unus eis.
Poscunt baptismum signo Crucis; est ibi natus
Fons, quo tincta madet turba renata Deo.
'Ite', sacer miles clamaverat, 'In Paradisum!'[59]
Nullus ad hanc vocem visus adesse fuit.
Ad lavacrum veniunt iam milia multa virorum
Turbaque feminea sponsaque clara ducis.[60] [102r]
Dum suspensa fuit per crines, cesa, cruenta,
Mundari lavacro blanda sitivit ovis.
Nubes de celo descendit, qua sibi palmas
Humectans miles mundificavit eam.
Decollata petit celum, milesque triumphans
Sub gladio sumit premia pulcra poli.

48 Act. 4, 36, '*posuit ante pedes apostolorum.*'

49 Luke was considered by the Church fathers to be the author of the *Acts of the Apostles.* But the secret burial of Barnabas by John Mark is not recorded in either Luke's Gospel or the *Acts,* but in the apocryphal *Acta Barnabae,* purportedly written by John Mark.

50 Rubric in right margin, '*Miracula quae fecit Deus pro sancto Georgio.*' The cult of St. George, an Eastern saint martyred variously by the emperor, Diocletian, the 'king of Persia' or the Roman governor, Dacianus (as here). He became a tribune in Diocletian's army but was executed for refusing to renounce Christianity. The *Passio Georgii,* recounting George's lengthy torture and death was a popular text in the medieval period. John does not refer to his encounter with the dragon, popularized in *Golden Legend*. On the cult of St. George and its introduction to Europe, especially England, see J. Good (2009), 21-51. *Gesta francorum*, 29 reports St. George's presence at Antioch in 1098, with the Eastern Christian warrior Saints Mercurius and Demetrius.

Now I have described the apostles, George provides me with deeds which I have highlighted in the rubric in the facing margin of this book. Through examples, I have wanted to make hard men more gentle, to make uncultured folk better informed, and to bend disagreeable men with my words. St. George, may you grant your support to me, who write of knightly service, since you are the knight who works miracles for the weapons of God.

<104> As tribune, St. George, a Cappadocian by race, generously distributed his possessions to the poor. A horrible wheel had torn him into ten parts, but with his right hand, He who made Adam made him whole. Christ had done this, together with many thousands from the city of angels, drawn along by love for their champion. As a young soldier he made the ancient thrones of Dacianus grow green with foliage, and their timbers sprout with new fruit. The false god Apollo cast you, [Dacianus] into the gaping abyss, and smashed your glittering idols.

St. George commanded crumbling human remains which had been lying for two hundred years to stand up when they were brought to him as dust. Two hundred and thirty-two leapt up, restored to life. A unique jubilee took control of them. They demanded baptism with the sign of the Cross. There the spring bubbled up in which were dipped the throng reborn to God. 'Go to Paradise,' the saintly knight had called out. But there was no visible owner of this voice.

Many thousands of men came to the font, together with a throng of women and the noble wife of the leader. She had been hung by her hair, and, cut and bloodied though she was, she longed, a gracious lamb, to be cleansed by the holy bath. A cloud descended from the sky, and using this to moisten his palms the knight cleansed her. She was beheaded and sought her place in Heaven; and the knight, triumphant

51 Line 154 makes it clear that John took a close interest in his manuscript, even if he was not the scribe, in that he refers specifically to the intended rubric. See Introduction, 1, 28. This reference cannot be taken as supporting the case for John of Garland's authorship of a lost *Georgica Spiritualia.*

52 John makes explicit his use of '*exempla*' to influence, educate and persuade his audience.

53 Read '*large,*' with MS, not '*larga*' with Wright. Note play on '*tribuit*'/ '*tribunus.*'

54 Read '*hoc*' with MS, for Wright's '*hic.*' Wright's punctuation is changed.

55 One of George's alleged miracles was to restore Dacianus' chairs to living trees.

56 '*abyssum*' is a feminine noun.

57 Dacianus and his false images were reportedly struck by lightning and cast into a chasm after George's death as God's punishment for his continuing paganism. Dacianus' wife, Alexandra, was converted, and despite being beheaded by Dacianus she was granted eternal life by George. John does not derive all his account from the short lives, e.g. JdeM, 158-61, Bartholomew of Trent 106-07.

58 Read '*Iobel*', with MS, for Wright's '*Lobel*'. Lev. 25, 8-13 defines the *annus iobelus,* occurring every 50 (or 49) years as a time for remission of debts, restitution of assets and forgiveness of sins. John is

Hinc preconcessit Dominus: qui premia poscit,
Suppliciter sancti sumet amore viri.
Illius meritis mihi, Christe, remitte reatum,
Et tecum facias post mea fata locum.
Hereticis postquam sunt talia dicta Tholose,
Clam rident, calcant sub pede sacra sues.
Hic Iacobitani[61] primo crevere capellam
Sancti Romani[62] qui tenuere diu.
<105> Urticas inter mordaces floridus hortus
Spirat, et Ecclesie spargit odoris opes.
Frater Remundus populo qui predicat arte
Fulconis baculum sumit, onusque patris.[63]
Doctorum primo sunt certa salaria,[64] donec
Cuncta negans livor cepit habere locum.
Florentis studii paulatim turba recedit;
Hec ego qui scribo cuncta recedo prius,
Insidias metuens. Celeri me trado carine,[65]
Intus sed predis insidiator hiat.
Ad Sarracenum castrum[66] me ducere temptat,
Suffocet ut tacitis impia turba dolis.
Sed quem vult servare Deus servabitur; O res
Mira! Patet clipeus aëre nube cava.[67]
Ostendo clipeum quem format in aëre nubes,
De forma clipei nautica corda stupent.[68]
Exclamo 'Bellum, bellum denuntiat aër!
Nec procul Ecclesie celicus ultor abest!'[69]
Dum clipeum solidam cerno durare per horam,
Ad facinus tardat impia corda stupor.
Ecce superveniunt peregrini,[70] dum prope portum
Moysiaci navis concita sulcat aquas.[71]

saying that through George, God was able to restore to life, redeem sins and grant access to heaven. This might also have read '*Iubal,*' Gen. 4, 21, credited with inventing music.

59 Read, '*Ite*' with MS, for Wright's '*Ire.*' Repunctuate to reflect direct speech.

60 Read '*ducis*' with MS, not, with Wright, '*dua's.*'

61 Rubric in right margin, '*De origine fratrum praedicatorum Tholosae, et dissipatione studii eiusdem.*' The Dominicans were named '*Jacobitani*' after their church in Paris, Saint-Jacques-le-Majeur, granted to them in 1218. First established in Toulouse by St. Dominic in 1214, they began building the church of St. Romanus in 1216. William Pelhisson, ch. 85, describes their move to the Garden of the Garrigues in 1230 because they needed more spacious premises.

62 St. Romanus of Rouen, a Sixth Century French saint.

63 The Dominican Raymond de Falgar, bishop of Toulouse 1232-70.

under the stroke of the sword, took up the beautiful rewards of Heaven. So the Lord has granted this in advance: whoever asks for rewards will obtain them in humility through the love of the saint. O Christ, forgive me in my guilt through his merits and make a place with you after I suffer my fate.

When such things are told to heretics in Toulouse, they snigger in secret, and like pigs trample holy things beneath their feet. Here the Dominicans first started, and for a long time they have maintained a chapel of Saint Romanus there.

<105> A garden full of flowers breathes amongst the stinging nettles, and spreads the abundant fragrance of the Church. Brother Raymond, a skilful preacher to the people, took up Fulk's crozier, and his burden as father of the community. At first the doctors' salaries were guaranteed, until envy which grudges everything began to take a hold on the place. Gradually the community of the thriving *studium* slipped away, and I, who am writing all this was the first to go, fearing a trap. I entrusted myself to a swift boat, but someone was lurking on board, eager for loot. He tried to take me to Castelsarrasin, so that a crowd of non-believers could strangle me in secret stealth. But he whom God wants to save will be saved! O miraculous happening! The shape of a shield appeared in the sky in a hollowed out cloud. I pointed out the shield shape which the cloud was forming in the sky, and the boatman's heart was dulled at the sight of the shield. I shouted, 'The sky itself is declaring war, and the Church's Heavenly avenger is not far away!' I watched the shield hold its shape for a full hour, and during that time paralysis stayed his non-believer's heart from crime. And, behold, some pilgrims appeared on the scene, while the boat was making heavy going through choppy waters near the port at Moissac.

64 The salaries of the masters recruited to Toulouse were specified in the Treaty of Paris (1229), see Introduction, 5, 59 & n. 13.

65 Read '***celeri***' with Wright, not '***sceleri***' with MS. He escapes down the Garonne. John's escape from Toulouse, lines 200-52, has a distinctively picaresque flavour, clearly influenced by the vernacular fabliaux. See Introduction, 4, 49. John's imagery is bold and designed to shock.

66 Castelsarrasin, Tarn et Garonne, a town near Moissac, on the opposite bank of the Garonne. It was a hotbed of resistance, still in Raymond VII's hands in 1228, WP (Sibly & Sibly), 76-77.

67 Vergil, *Aen.* 1.516-17, '*… nube cava speculantur amicti / Quae fortuna viris, classem quo litore linquant …*.'

Crastina lux oritur; sitiens manus impia predam[72]
Incendit factis raptibus igne casas.
Est furis gressum Veneris comitata chimera,[73]
Qua leo regnat, olet hircus, hiatque draco.[74]
Ex monstro Veneris elegia venerat ista,[75]
Et veniet quotiens vir parat esse Paris.
Hic Veneris nodum strictum denodo, genasque
Tectas denudo, monstraque monstro sua.
Mentes venatur Venus, irretitque per omnes
Blanditias, magica devirat arte viros.[76]
Mechie facinus mulier facit, eruit era
A mechi loculo, Marte vel arte trahens.[77]
<106> Mentula surripitur mechi quandoque resecta,
Dum decollatus frater uterque cadit.[78] [102v]
Sincopat interdum vitam mala mecha mariti,
Dum Veneris clibanum stultus inignit amor.
Bacchus bacchatur per eum, Mars vincitur ustus,
Est urens Titan et furit igne Tethis;
Nec tantum Titani, sed Triton per mare ludens
Cum Borea gelido sudat amore novo.
Fabula Nasonis verum subpalliat.[79] Urit
Neptunum Veneris fax, gelidosque cremat.
Noctua pavoni turpis prefertur amore,
Ostro panniculus, feda cicuta rose.
Fur meretrixque viri mitis vestigia nacti,
Instant dum detur preda petita dolis.
Arte malignandi, preludit copia fandi.[80]
Hec prudens timeat ut sibi cautus eat;
Occurrunt cause peccandi, si gerit extra
Limen homo gressus; hostis ubique latet.[81]
Aut videt aut audit aut cogitat id quod obesse[82]
Possit, et icirco non sit inermis homo.
Semper premisso signo Crucis exeat, et sit
Eius in ore Dei nomen et intus amor
Tutus ab hoste. Sui fidibus persaepe canoris
Casibus in dubiis ars variata iuvat.

68 John reminds readers of superstition among sailors—see *DTE,* 2.436-37.
69 MS contains deleted '*adest.*' Read '*abest*' with corrected MS and Wright.
70 The abbey of St. Pierre in Moissac was an important stage on the pilgrimage route from Le Puy-en-Velay to Santiago de Compostella, and the crossing point for the Garonne.
71 Ovid, *Met.* 4. 706-07, '*Ecce, velut navis praefixo concita rostro / Sulcat aquas.*'
72 '*Crastina lux,*' Vergil, *Aen.*10.244. See also *DTE,* 8.293.
73 Rubric, '*De latronibus qui insidiabantur magistris ibidem.*'

Next day dawned, and that godless band, lusting after loot, pillaged and then set fire to some cottages. The phantom that is Venus accompanied the thief's footsteps; in it the lion rules, the goat stinks, and the dragon breathes fire. That sad elegy had arisen from the monster that is Venus, and it will arise whenever a man plans to emulate Paris. Here I untie Venus' tight girdle, and expose her veiled cheeks, and display her dark side. Venus hunts men's minds, and ensnares them by means of all her charms, and unmans men by her magic arts. A woman commits the crime of adultery and lifts the coins from the adulterer's purse, coaxing them by violence or subterfuge. <106> The male adulterer is robbed of his penis and sometimes has it cut off, leaving his balls sagging and cut off at the neck. The wicked adulteress cuts short the life of a husband, while mindless lust stokes Venus' oven. Bacchus rampages through lust, Mars is burned out and defeated, Titan is aflame, and Tethys is driven mad by the fire; not only Titans, but Triton revelling in the ocean sweats in a new love for Boreas, the cold North wind. Ovid's stories cloak the truth. Venus' torch scorches Neptune, and turns frozen men to ashes. By the power of love, an ugly night-owl is preferred to the peacock, rags to royal purple, the bitter hemlock to the rose. The thief and the whore dog a gentle man's steps and harass him until the plunder they artfully seek is surrendered. The opportunity to chat forms the prelude to evil-doing by deception, so let prudent men be on their guard against it and go carefully. If a man ventures over his threshold, opportunities to sin will confront him; the devil lurks everywhere. Either he sees, or he hears, or he thinks that something could be harmful to him, and therefore a man should not be off his guard. He should always set out showing the sign of the Cross. Let God's name be in his mouth, and God's love in his heart, protected from the Devil. Very often a varied palette of his music played on the lyre helps him in uncertain situations. The rest of the inconveniences I

74 Ovid, *Met.* 9.647-48 includes only the lion and dragon in describing the *chimaera.* Marbodus, *Liber decem capitulorum,* 3.45-49, gives this monster representing female lust, '*forma triformis*'; the middle portion beteen lion and dragon '*nil sunt nisi fervidus ignis.*' See also *PP,* 7.62 '*hircus olens, meretrix, rabiesque canina.*'

75 '*Elegia ista*' is best read as a reference to Alan of Lille's *De Planctu Nature* (see also *DTE,* Preface.1), particularly its opening section, described there as '*flebile carmen*'. Compare Alan's line 4,'*Cum Veneris monstro naufraga turba perit,*' particularly apt in John's circumstances, and line 49, '*Sed Paris in Paridem monstra nefanda parit.*' The homophobic drift of this passage in *De Planctu Nature,* would be instantly recognisable to a sophisticated audience familiar with Alan's works, but see also *PP,* 4.272, which suggests that John's target is Paris' adultery.

76 See *EBVM,* 9.213-14. '*Se fera dissimulat Veneris fex mellea: doctos / femina dum fallit, interitum tegit ars.*' Whatever happened to John on the Garonne, it left its permanent mark. '*Magica devirat arte viros*' in line 224 above comes straight from *De Planctu Nature,* 6. On Alan's conceit of the good and the bad Venus, and his use of deliberately coarse language, see Green (1956).

77 '*Marte vel arte,*' a proverbial expression.

Cetera pretereo, fueram quae tedia passus,
Que via, que latro, que malus hospes agit.
Parisius veni, peregrinus cum peregrinis,[83]
Gratia sit proli, Virgo Maria, tue.
Partibus Austrinis scripsi discrimina facta;[84]
Nunc mala sub Boree flatibus acta canam.
Dudum venerunt Huni de partibus illis[85]
Per quos martirium Gallia passa fuit.
Sanctus Nichasius[86] per eos pluresque cruore
Fuso purpureas promeruere stolas.
<107> Heretici dum Vandalici[87] fecere ruinam,
Compluit Ecclesiam sanguinis unda sacri.[88]
Iustorum meritis, quosdam percussio stravit
Celestis digne, perdomuitque nephas.
Pauci Burgundi noviter baptismate loti
Hunos innumeros ense dedere neci.[89]
Virus adhuc quidam sapiunt, occultaque secta
Serpit qua multi promeruere rogos.[90]
Circuit Ecclesiam bellum; sine preside Roma[91]
Ad, Frederice, tua prelia, damna gemit.
Legatos et prelatos in carcere claudit
Princeps quos terra, quos capit ipse mari.
Presule Roma carens,[92] spatio viduata bienni,
Asscripsit cause Cesaris arma sue.
Captos prelatos tamen hic e carcere misit,
Ut iustum caperent ad diadema patrem.
Eligitur quartus In papa Nocentius,[93] aptus,
Ecclesie fortis ferre laboris onus. [103r]
Ut pastorales cambuce principis hastas
Frangant, Lugdunum papa venire parat.[94]
Belli causa fuit quia Cesar predia pape
Cepit et Ecclesie subdita multa sacre.

78 *Dictionnarius*, 3, '*Natura tria dedit homini genitalia, quae sunt virga virilis et duo fratres pendiculi, qui sunt testiculi.*'
79 Ovid, *Met.*, 6.702-10.
80 Lines 241-42 are leonines. '*Copia fandi,*' Vergil, *Aen,* 1.520.
81 '*Hostis ubique latet,*' Hugh of Mâcon, *Gesta Militum*, 3.514. Hugh, a Cistercian, was first abbot of Pontigny.
82 Read '*id quod*' with MS, not '*idque*' with Wright.
83 John travelled home with a group of returning pilgrims.
84 Rubric in left margin, '*De hereticis Hunis et Wandalis, qui per Galliam strages fecerunt.*'
85 The Huns under Attila invaded western Europe in 451, and the Vandals in 407.
86 St. Nicasius, traditionally bishop of Reims, was a martyr. Some sources attribute his death to the Vandals in 407, and some to the Huns in 451, Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesie, MGHS,* 13, 417-20.

suffered I shall pass over [in silence], what the journey, or robbers, or ill-intentioned landlords did to me. I reached Paris a pilgrim with pilgrims, thanks, Virgin Mary, to your son.

I have written about the decisive events which took place in southern climes. Now I shall sing of the evil acts perpetrated under the blasts of the north wind. Long ago the Huns came from those parts, at whose hands Gaul endured martyrdom; Saint Nicasius earned his purple robes through blood shed by the Huns and others.

<107> When the heretic Vandals created devastation, a tidal wave of holy blood washed over the Church. Through the worthy efforts of righteous men, a blow from Heaven deservedly laid some of them low and subdued their wickedness. A few Burgundians newly cleansed by baptism committed innumerable Huns to slaughter by the sword.

But still certain poisons ooze, and a secret sect has spread by stealth, which caused many to meet their deaths. War circles round the Church. Rome, without a leader, groans at the wars and damage you bring, Frederick. The emperor seizes legates and bishops by land and by sea and locks them in prison. Rome lacking a leader, and bereaved for two years, has enlisted the arms of Caesar to its own cause. But Frederick released the captured prelates from jail, so that they could appoint a just pope to the crown. Innocent IV was elected, well fitted and strong to carry the burden of the Church. The pope is preparing to go to Lyon, so that shepherds' crooks might break the emperor's spears. The cause of the war was that the emperor took the pope's estates, and many things belonging to the holy Church. Why does

87 'Vandalici' for '*Uvandalici*' in MS and Wright.

88 '*Sanguinis unda sacri,*' from a liturgical chant for St. Maurice, '*Sanctorum corpora sacri sanguinis unda,*' Cantus Database 004762.

89 Around 430, a small group of Burgundians reportedly destroyed a much larger Hun army and became Christians because of their success. Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* 7.30, Migne, *PG,* cols. 805-08.

90 Lines 285-6 appear to be displaced, and would follow naturally here. They refer to Louis IX's campaign against the Cathars and the conspiracies with which he had to deal in the early years of his reign.

91 Original draft rubric in left margin, '*De bello imperatoris Romani contra papam.*' In the actual rubric, '*contra papam*' is overwritten in a black hand, perhaps with '*cum Christo.*' This is a reference to the period 1241-3, between the death of Gregory IX on 22 August, 1241 and the election of Innnocent IV on 25 June 1243. Celestine IV was pope for only 17 days, from 25 October to 10 November 1241, in chaotic circumstances. Frederick II had captured and imprisoned two cardinals and several bishops at sea in 1241. Rome lacked a bishop (pope), but Cardinal Colonna in the city of Rome was an ally of Frederick, who had been excommunicated in 1239. He continued during this period to attack

Quod tenuere diu patres, ad quid retinere
Vult Caesar? Teneat quod tenuisse decet.
Si rex hereticos perimit civesque rebelles[95]
Punit, sic legem iustitiamque tenet.
Panditur ex Aquilone malum, quia Tartara mittunt[96]
Tartaream gentem cum feritate nova.
Fortunam natura levem facit, ut probat eius
Orbita;[97] prosperitas labitur orba bonis.
Qui risit meret, qui mestus erat modo ridet,
Qui viguit languet, qui fuit altus eget.
Ergo Fortune vicibus confidere numquam
Presumas, sed eam sub pede fortis habe.
<108> Hoc per tartaream gentem fortuna probare
Nititur, ut possit posse probare suum.
Tharsenses Tharsis transmiserat, hoc alieno
Nomine Tartareos dicimus esse viros.[98]
Iudicis ira, Dei permissio, culpa reorum,
Inferni livor, hec nova bella parant.[99]
Proditio prodit, fraus imperat,[100] estuat[101]ira,
Regnat avaritia,[102] fastus ad astra volat.
Ensis Tartareus nostrum scelus expiat. Ensi
Offert materiam culpa secanda suam.
Polluit Ecclesiam luxus, respergit[103] eandem
Turpi fece gula, decipit umbra doli.
Hereticus latitat, incautos fallit, amicos
Corrumpit fidei, perfidiamque fovet.
Est 'Thare' formido.[104] Sonat ex hoc Tartarus; huius
Penam formidat quisquis iniqua gerit.
Mittitur ergo reos qui punit Tartarus; omnes
Percutit, et nescit impius esse pius.
Ultor ab Aurora veniens sibi proxima queque
Dum metit occasum subjugat ense sibi.

and win territory from the Papal States. Prior to Innocent IV's election Frederick released the two cardinals, but there was no respite in hostilities, Abulafia (1988), 346-54.

92 A phrase ending '*… papa*' has been illegibly deleted, and '*Praesule Roma carens*' substituted in the margin in a different hand.

93 '*In-nocentius*' see *DTE* 1.97, and n. 35.

94 Innocent fled from Italy and made his way to Lyon, effectively under the protection of Louis IX. Frederick was again excommunicated at the Council of Lyon in 1245.

95 John does not usually refer to the Emperor as '*rex,*' and lines 285-86 appear to be displaced. They relate to Louis IX, and fit well after line 268 above.

96 Rubric in right margin, '*De ceteris hereticis quos Gallia Tartaros dicit sub rethorica descriptio.*'

Caesar want to hang on to things which the popes have possessed for many years? Let him hold what it is proper for him to have held in his possession. If the king is killing heretics and punishing rebellious citizens, by so doing he upholds the law and justice.

It is from the East that evil is spreading, since Hell is sending the Tartar race, more savage than ever. Nature makes fortune fickle, as the wheel of fortune proves; wellbeing slips away, bereft of good things. He who laughed grieves, and he who was just grieving laughs. He who was full of strength lies idle, and he who walked tall goes in need. Therefore never take it for granted that you can rely on the lottery of luck, but be courageous and keep luck firmly beneath your feet.

<108>Fortune is trying to prove this by means of the Tartar race, so that she can prove her own power. Tarshish had despatched 'Tarshians', but we call these men Tartars by a name with a very different meaning. The Judge's anger, God's acquiescence, the responsibility of the guilty, the envy of hell, these are brewing new wars. Treachery begets them, trickery issues orders, anger seethes, greed rules, arrogance leaps to the stars. The swords of the Tartars expiate our sins. Sin which must be cut out offers its wood to the Tartar sword. Excess defiles the Church, gluttony drenches it with disgusting filth, the shadow of trickery is deceiving it. The heretic lies hidden, deceives the unwary, corrupts friends of the faith, and nurtures treachery. [The name] 'Thare' sparks off dread; 'Tartarus' has the same sound to it; anyone acting unjustly dreads the punishment of Tartarus (hell). That is why it is the Tartar who is sent to punish the guilty. He strikes all, and being a non-believer does not know how to behave as a believer. Arriving as an avenger from the East he is subduing the West with his sword as he scythes down whatever comes next.

'*Ab Aquilone pandetur malum,*' Ier. 1, 14.' John uses the pun, '*Tartara*' / 'hell' and '*Tartari*' / 'Mongols' elsewhere in the poem. It was a contemporary commonplace.

97 The wheel of fortune was an attribute of the Roman goddess Fortuna, and a frequent allegory for the vicissitudes of fate. Note the play on words with '*orba.*'

98 In this tortured pun, John contrasts the reversal of fortune from the commercially successful '*Tarsenses,*' who derived their name from the biblical Tarshish, to the '*Tartarei*'—the men from hell.

99 Thomas May's *Supplementum Lucani* (1640), 4.394, has '*monstro nova bella parari.*'

100 Read '*imperat*' with Wright, not '*imparat*' with MS.

Armenie proceres pereunt, Syrieque tyranni[105]
Succumbunt; Pontus colla subacta gemit.
Caucasus inclinat sese, sua porrigit Hister[106]
Arma, suum luget Thracia victa ducem.
Mars, deus armorum, qui terra regnat in illa
Subdit Tartareis martia tela viris.
Rucia destruitur, destructa Boemia plangit.[107]
Planctu pulsatur Austria, pulsa tremit.[108]
Sevus Agarenos[109] agit in cunctos furor; omnes
Hii feriunt, et eos percutit omnis homo.
Omnibus occurrunt, omnes grassantur in illos;
Et sic more suo qui patiuntur agunt.
In Sarram conspirat Agar; consurgit alumna[110]
In dominam, turbat serva superba domum. [103v]
<109> Dic, 'Que causa fuit?' -- Serve conceptio, lectus
Illicitus, fracta lex, Abraheque venus?
Hanc venerem luit hoc tempus, periere tot anni.
Est tamen in pena pristina culpa recens;
Ex veteri culpa novus est pudor ortus, et illi
Est nova pena comes, immeritos que gravat.[111]
Non ea affirmo, sed gens scelerata resurgit
Que cupido voto cuncta tenere sitit.[112]
Dices, 'Quod iustus Deus est, non vult pius ergo
Immeritos homines impietate premi.
Presens turba nihil meruit.' Ne talia dicas,
Est rea quam semper polluit egra caro.
Non omnes dico presentis carnis amore
Infectos; multos inficit egra caro.
Ismaëlita[113] Syon gremium defedat, at illud
Exornare studet Israëlita pius.
Hinc est iniustus, hinc iustus; purus abhorret
Impurum; sanctos turba maligna fugat,
In nostro luctu ridet, casuque cruento
Surgit, et esurie corda refecta cibat.

101 Vergil, *Aen.,* 9.798, '*mens exaestuat ira.*'

102 '*Regnat avaritia,*' From Walter of Châtillon, '*Ecce torpet probitas,*' ed. & trans. D. A. Traill, 62-65, also a popular song, J. Stevens (2005), 76-78.

103 Read '*respergit*' with Wright, for '*respargit*' in MS.

104 Read '*Thare*' = 'Terah,' for Wright's '*thare.*' Thare was Abraham's father, who took him to Canaan, Gen. 11, 24-32. '*Formido*' was a device for scaring birds, e.g. Vergil, *Aen.,*12.750, as well as the noun and verb 'dread.' John is saying that his very (Jewish) name occasions dread; and that the dreaded word '*Tartarus*' sounds like it and represents God's instrument for punishing wrong-doing.

The leaders of Armenia are dying, the lords of Syria are tumbling, the Black Sea groans at the yoke of subjection. The Caucasus bends, the Hyster offers up its weapons in surrender, defeated Thrace mourns its leader. Mars, god of weapons, who rules in that land, supplies arrows of war to the men of Tartary. Russia is being destroyed, Bohemia is laid low as it cries in grief. Austria echoes with grieving, and shakes at the blow. A savage frenzy is directed against the whole race of the Agarenes. They themselves strike at everyone, just as the whole human race is fighting them. They confront everybody, and everyone attacks them. So those who suffer are acting in the way the Agarenes usually do.

Hagar plotted against Sarah, the maid rebelled against her mistress, the proud slave cast the house into confusion. <109> 'Tell me, what was the cause?'—the servant's pregnancy, illicit couplings, the broken law, the lust of Abraham? The passage of time has washed away Abraham's lust, so many years have passed. Yet the guilt for recent events is being punished by the penalties for sins long ago. This new shame has arisen from that ancient sin, and this new scourge, which weighs heavily on people who have done nothing to deserve it, comes hand in hand with it. I cannot offer positive proof of that. But that sinful human race is resurgent, and yearns in its longing desire to possess everything.

You will say, 'Because God is just, and being righteous, He does not on that account want those who have not brought it upon themselves to suffer for impiety. The ordinary people of today have merited no such suffering.' But in response to such an argument, they are guilty, since they are permanently infected by a sickness of the flesh. I am not saying that everyone is infected by carnal lust, but sickness of the flesh taints many. The Ishmaelite befouls the lap of Jerusalem, the devout Israelite strives to embellish it. On the one side is an impious man, on the other a righteous one. The pure in heart recoil from the defiled. This evil horde puts the saints to flight. It laughs as we grieve. It gains strength through blood-soaked catastrophe, and feeds its revived spirits by hunger.

105 Rubric in right margin, '*De terris quas Tartari destruxerunt, et eorum militia.*' *CM*, 3.488-89 describes a Muslim delegation mainly from Syria to Louis IX in 1238 reporting Mongol depredations and seeking help. The queen of Georgia asked the pope for assistance in 1239, Jackson (2005), 60.

106 The lower Danube.

107 The Mongols subdued Rus over the years 1238-1240, Jackson (2005), 40. Regarding Bohemia, Matthew Paris paints an alarming picture, *CM*, 4.110-11, 115, but the impact there was less severe than on neighbouring countries, Berend (2013), 447-48.

108 For a strategic view of the Mongol attacks of 1241, see Jackson (2005), 61-65.

O quam felices veteres vixere, sepulti
Ante dies nostros et populare chaos.
O quotiens fausti sunt hii, feralia facta
Qui non viderunt que videt ista dies.
Brutis Tartarei conformes sanguine gaudent
Impuro, comedunt cruda, venena bibunt.

109 '*Agarenos,*' derived from 'Hagar,' were the Muslims. Just as in Gen. 16, 12, God says to Hagar about her son by Abraham, Ishmael, '*manus eius contra omnes, et manus omnium contra eum,*' so his descendants the Muslims have been at loggerheads with the world. They are receiving a dose of their own medicine from the Mongols.

110 Gen. 16.

111 Horace, Odes, 4.5. 24, '*culpam poena premit comes.*'

112 Read, with MS, '*Que*' rather than Wright's '*Et.*'

113 '*Ismaelita,*' a non-classical form, means 'Muslim.' John is referring to the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem and compares the Christians in the Holy Land with the ancient Israelites.

Oh what happy lives the men of old lived, in their graves before these days of ours and the chaos among the people. How many times are they blessed, who did not witness the murderous deeds to which these days bear witness. Like wild beasts, the Tartars rejoice in rank blood, they eat raw food, and they drink poison.

Book 7

Incipit vii liber elegiarum

<110> Monstrifere fame non credo per omnia, sed me
De monstris dicta monstra referre iuvat.
Tartareos gladios baratralis fabricat hostis,
Tartaream predam Crux quia sancta tulit.[1]
Impia demessit[2] celi gens ista triumphos,
Dum iustos perimit, Ecclesiamque premit;
Sic nisi plebs mendax, superare tragedica cuncta
Ista videt quisquis carmina prisca legit.
Natum sevus Ytim Thereus non sponte comedit,[3]
Fecit et infamem Colchida lesus amor.[4]
Infandas epulas sumit non sponte Tyestes,
Ignorans natum dum vorat ipse suum.[5]
Sed sic detestor vano mendacia risu
Horret que genius, credere nemo velit.[6]
Gens est seva nimis, Sathaneque domestica pestis[7]
Ecclesie fidei dissona, cedis amans.
Limpha, merum, panis, caro, piscis, friget, abundat,
Iucundat, nutrit, vivit in ede proba.[8]
Excedit[9] gens ista feras, quas mundus abhorret.
Cur? Quia naturam calcat iniqua suam.
Queris forte modum calcandi? Sanguinis haustu
Emadet humani,[10] se furor iste bibit.
<111> Esuriens hominem corrodit homo? leo nullus [104r]
Carne leonina viscera laxa replet.
Non lupus ungue lupum lacerat. Gens ista colurnis
In veribus vertit membra veruta foco.[11]
Famam Virgilius monstrum depingit habere[12]
Sub plumis oculos instabilesque gradus.
Illi mille dedit linguas figmenta loquentes;
Falsis fermentat sic modo vera loquax.
Fingit fama tamen quedam conformia vero,
Nam mihi pro certo presbiter ista tulit.[13]

1 I.e. the Mongols are the Devil's revenge for the triumph of the Church.
2 Read '*demessit*' for '*demeruit*' in MS and Wright.
3 See Ovid *Met*. 6.650-52 for Tereus unwittingly eating his son, Itys.
4 Medea famously murdered her children to avenge herself on Jason.
5 In Greek mythology, Thyestes unwittingly ate his own sons, served up by his brother Atreus in revenge for his treachery and adultery.
6 Wright's punctuation is amended.

Book 7

Here begins the seventh book of elegiacs

<110> I do not believe all the details of rumours about monstrous happenings, but it is useful for me to recount the horrors which have been recounted about these monsters. The enemy in the depths of hell forges the swords of the Tartars, because the holy Cross has taken the spoils of Tartarus itself. That sacriligeous race has harvested the victories which should be Heaven's, so long as it is killing righteous men and harrying the Church. So apart from the mob which is full of lies, whoever reads the ancient poems sees that these deeds outdo the whole repertoire of tragedy. Wild Tereus did not willingly eat his son Itys. It was betrayed love that made the woman of Colchis notorious. Not of his own volition did Thyestes raise to his lips that forbidden feast, not recognising that what he ate was his own son. But that is why I deprecate falsehoods at which our nature shudders with a mirthless laugh, and which no-one would willingly believe.

That race is deeply uncivilised, a plague from Satan's household, discordant with the beliefs of the Church, addicted to slaughter. In a respectable household, the water is cool, wine flows freely, bread warms us up, meat feeds us and there are live fish. This race passes the bounds set by the wild animals from which the world recoils. Why? Because in its iniquity it tramples on its own nature. You ask perhaps if there are any bounds to this self-debasement? This frenzy imbibes itself, by drenching itself with draughts of human blood.

<111> Does man gnaw man when he is hungry? No lion fills out its scrawny belly with lion's flesh. Wolf does not tear at wolf with its claws. This race turns skewered limbs on spits of hazelwood in the hearth. Vergil paints Rumour as a monster with eyes covered by feathers and faltering step. He gives her a thousand tongues speaking falsehoods, just as gossips nowadays dress up the truth with lies. Yet Rumour fashions some tales which seem like truth, for a priest told me this as the absolute truth.

7 Latin extracts from Book 7, were quoted 'tels qu'ils nous sont transmis par l'obligeant secrétaire de la Camden Society,' by M. D'Avezac in 1838, well before Wright's edition. He identifies John's priestly source, line 32, as Ivo of Narbonne, *CM,* 4.272-77, or Roger of Torre Maggiore, author of *Miserabile Carmen.*

8 This figure whereby lists of nouns and verbs are paired, occurs also at e.g. 8.244.

9 The MS deletes a '*c*' from '*exccedit.*' Read '*quas*' with MS, for Wright's '*quae.*'

10 See Matthew Paris' image of Mongols roasting human flesh on spits, **Plate 8, p. 325**.

11 Vergil, *Georg.* 2.396, '*in veribus … .colurnis.*'

12 Rubric in right margin, '*Qualis est Fama secundum Virgilium.*' Vergil's description is at *Aen*., 4.173-88.

13 See Introduction, Ch. 8, 84 & n. 47 on possible clerical sources. Mongol atrocities were widely reported, and John provides his own gruesome selection.

Presbiteros terrae prosternunt, sic crucifigunt
Illos prostratos, excruciantque diu.
Matres occidunt, parvosque per ubera matrum
Flentes, clamantes, ire, perire sinunt.
Hac feritate refert hos fama bibisse medullas
Humanas. Feritas quod scelus ista timet?
Sic ex concesso fit fama sophistica, dicit
Nil contra positum de feritate loquens.
Pingues et teneros et molles et generosos
Et pulchros, horum rex coquit igne sibi;
Plebs vorat annosos, duros, nigros, scabiosos,
Hirsutos, tremulos, hoc nec abhorret opus.
Quod sequitur, vere faciunt. Muliebria[14] truncant
Guttura post veneris corpora iuncta sue.
Turmas Tartarei varie statuunt aciei,[15]
Hii sunt funerei quos movet ira Dei.
Tartara miserunt hos; hiis iusti perierunt.
Omnia dum querunt, bella necemque gerunt.
Hii quia sunt diri, nequeunt pietate poliri.
Hiis periere Tiri, Pergameique viri.[16]
Cor gustando ferum, fetus truncant mulierum.
Sanctum, me miserum, non venerantur herum.
Hec est experta plaga succumbens Borealis.[17]
De tantis certa quanta renarro malis.
<112> Hec patiente Deo pridem patrata fuere.
Hos nequeunt, timeo, pellere castra, sere.[18]
Quis dux est autor scelerum, factorque malorum,
Et gentis fautor quam timet omne forum?
Sic sacra lex loquitur. Regem silvestria ligna[19]
Rhamnum flammivomum constituere sibi.

14 '*tractant*' is deleted here in the MS.
15 Lines 47-54 are leonines. End-rhymes continue to line 60, and from 65-70.
16 Mongol armies briefly occupied Anatolia and Syria in 1243-44, Jackson (2005), 74.
17 Read '*hec*' with MS, for Wright's '*hac*.'
18 '*castra, sere*' are the fortifications and locks on the gate in the Caucasus said to have been erected by Alexander the Great to enclose Gog and Magog and other hostile tribes, later extended to include the ten lost tribes of Israel.
19 Despite interrupting a rhyming passage, lines 61-64 have been transposed in this edition from 363-66 in MS and Wright, where they made no sense. Here, they identify the leader of the Mongols with the Antichrist. '*Silvestria ligna*'/ 'brushwood' symbolizes sinful mankind. After the vine and the olive had rejected the idea, the '*rhamnus*'/ 'Christ's-thorn' accepted their crown, and, like the Antichrist, consumed the brushwood, e.g. *Sancti Melitonis Clavis*, Pitra (1876-91), vol.2, vii, 20. On the Antichrist in this context see Thomas of Spalato, *MGHS*, 29.591.

Plate 8. MS Cambridge Corpus Christi College 16, f. 167r, Mongols cooking men on spits, *DTE*, 7.25-26.

The Tartars stretch out priests on the ground, and attach them to crosses just there as they lie flat, and subject them to lengthy torture. They kill mothers, and they leave children, weeping and crying out at their mothers' breasts to go and die. Rumour tells us that in this feral state they sucked out human bone marrow. Of what crime is this bestiality afraid? Thus Rumour, usually based on falsehood, arose from acknowledged fact, and on the subject of their savagery speaks not a word beyond what has been clearly established. The Tartar king cooks on the fire for himself those who are plump, tender, soft, of noble birth, and good-looking, whilst the ordinary people wolf down the old, tough, dark-skinned, mangy, hairy and shaking, and do not shrink from the task. What follows, they really do; they cut women's throats, after their bodies have been joined in lust.

The Tartars organise their military units on a moving front. Those who are directed by the wrath of God are bringers of death. Hell sent them, and at their hands righteous men have died. As they seek to possess everything, they bring war and slaughter. Because they are portents of doom, they cannot be improved by piety. The men of Tyre and of Pergamum have died at their hands. To tickle their savage appetites, they hack out women's unborn children. Woe is me, they have no reverence for the holy Lord.

This is what the Northern region suffered as it fell beneath their sway; I am reporting facts which are as true as the evils are great. <112> This is what happened in the past, with God's acquiescence. I fear that fortifications and locks cannot hold them back. Who is the leader who perpetrates these crimes, the author of these evils, and the person who showed support for this race which every town dreads? It is just as the

Hic Antichristum signat preludia cuius
Gens[20] agitat credens cuncta licere sibi.
Istis Cumani servire mali didicerunt,[21]
Qui vacui, vani, falsa dolosque ferunt.
Hii sunt Christicole falsi, sine lege severi.
Hac de fraude schole proposuere queri.
Exit feralis pollutus anelitus oris,
Est intus talis spiritus atque foris.
Aër polluitur; stupet hinc tellus; aqua fetet.
Hic[22] cui sentitur tristia fata meret.
Sanguine punicio rubet Ister Tartareorum.[23]
Dum furor illorum sevit ut hidra, leo,
Obstat eis Renus et eorum bella repellit.
Hoc hominum vellit vis tua, Christe, genus;
Crux adversatur illis Christique potestas, [104v]
Cuius maiestas imperiosa datur.
Tartarei fera gens committunt impia celo
Prelia, perdentes que bona percipiunt.
Percipiunt bona que perdentes proelia celo
Impia committunt gens fera Tartarei.[24]
Consimiles sacra dant Iudeis,[25] sordida divo
Viscera ponendo. Mundificant male se.
Se male mundificant, ponendo viscera divo
Sordida, Iudeis dant sacra consimiles.[26]
Dum circumcisa pro pelle merentur Apelle
Nomen; cognomen hoc valet esse suum.[27]
He gentes misere mortem, misere per orbem
Destructas leges per mala cuncta leges.[28]
Quid referam plausus quos perfida dat Sinagoga?[29]
Nuncia quid promam perfidiamque suam?
Munera pretereo quae mittit clam vel aperte,[30]
Dum sibi Messiam credit habere suum.[31]

20 John reverts to the Mongols after a long digression,

21 Rubric in right margin, '*Cumani falsi Christiani erant proditores regis Hungarie.*' The nomadic *Cumani,* or Qipchaq Turks, lived on the steppes north and east of the Black Sea. Their armies were defeated by the Mongols in 1223. A few were converted to Christianity in 1228. In 1239 they resisted the Mongol invasion, but many sought refuge in Hungary, and were welcomed by King Béla IV, on condition that their leader, Köten, became a Christian. Köten was murdered by Hungarian nobles distrustful of the Cumans and their own king and the Cumans abandoned Hungary. Béla's army was crushed at the battle of Mohi on 11 April 1241, and he was driven into exile pursued by the Mongols. Some contemporary chroniclers blamed the Cumans for betraying Béla. He eventually returned to Hungary. See Jackson (2005), 17-18 & 61-65, Morgan (2007), 122-23.

22 Read '*hic*' for Wright's '*hoc.*' MS could have either reading.

Holy Law says. The wood of the forest chose as king the Christ-thorn which belched forth flames. He signals the Antichrist whose preparations are driven by this race which believes it can get away with anything.

It was the evil Cumans who learned to be their slaves, who are empty and without substance, deceivers and tricksters. They are false Christians, unrelenting and lawless. The schools have instigated a *questio* regarding this deception.

Like a wild animal's, poisonous breath comes from their (the Mongols') mouths, and such is the air inside them as well as outside. The air is foul, the earth lies inert, the water stinks. Whoever inhales it will merit a sad end. The Danube flows red with the purple blood of the Tartars. As their frenzy rages like a Hydra or lion, the Rhine stands in their way and fends off their attacks. O Christ, your driving force is ripping this tribe of men apart; the Cross and the power of Christ stands in their way, and His over-riding might is granted to us. That savage race of Tartars wage impious war on Heaven, and lose the goods they seize. The savage race of Tartars seize goods which they lose, waging impious wars on Heaven.

They are like the Jews in their religious rites, offering the unclean guts of animals to their god, and making themselves unkempt. They make themselves unkempt, and offer squalid offal to their god, and have rites like the Jews. They deserve the name of Skinless because their foreskin is cut, and that is what they should be called. These wretched tribes have spread death throughout the world; you will read of the destruction of the rule of law by all their wicked deeds. What am I to say about the applause they are getting from treacherous Synagoga? Why should I spread the news of the Jews' treachery? I refrain from mentioning the gifts which the Jews send both openly and in secret, while they believe they have their own

23 The Mongols crossed the frozen Danube on 25 December 1241. A German army reportedly defeated them in 1241 at the river Delpheos, near the Danube, *CM,* 4.131. Jackson (2005), 67, dismisses this and other reports of a German victory as wishful thinking.

24 Lines 79-82, and 83-86 are *versus retrogradi* (palindromes).

25 Matthew Paris, *CM,* 4.78-81 specifically says the Mongols did not speak Hebrew and had no knowledge of Mosaic law. He does not corroborate John's assertion that they were circumcised.

26 See Introduction, Ch. 8, 85 & n. 60.

27 '*Apella*' is the name of a Jew in Horace, *Serm.,* 1.5.100. John quotes this in *CG,* 4.881-82, "*Flaccus proponit,* '*credat Iudeus Apella.*' *Circumcisus Apella manet, vates sit Apelles.*" For John the Jewish name offers a coarse pun.

28 Another pun, '*leges*' / 'laws' and 'you will read'. John is accusing Mongols and Jews indiscriminately.

29 John seems to be referring to the Jews alone in lines 87-100. Synagoga was the effigy of a young woman representing the Jewish religion often seen on churches in the company of Ecclesia.

30 '*apertes*' is corrected in the MS.

<113> Spes sua messe[32] caret, expectans tempore tanto
Messiam sterilem spem miseranda fovet.
Hos ut cognoscas, illos denominat error
Ipsorum qui sunt Tartarus ipse niger.
Non sunt Tartarei tantum, sed Tartarus ipse.
Gens scelerata nimis dicitur, immo scelus.
Pagina sacra viros verpos denominat istos
De quibus in toto personat orbe fragor.
Urbs[33] est orbis honor qua proles Virginis orbis
Abstersit facinus sanguinis imbre sui.
Lignum damnavit, sed lignum nos reparavit.
Fructus opem dederat, mors quia fructus erat.
Mortem Virgo dedit, sed Virgine mors retrocedit[34]
Per quam procedit vita, salusque redit.
Astutum vermem pendens Cruce reddit inermem,[35]
Dum concludit ei patris imago Dei.
Est homo qui nomen a crismate sumpsit, et intus
Ex alto Sanctus Spiritus unxit eum.
Imperiosa Dei proles et Virginis alme
Partus mirificus puniet ista mala.
Sublimes fastus humilis patientia Christi
Prosternet, per quam gens violenta cadit.
Gloria vanescit mundi, mundana potestas
Dum surgit, recidit, et perit orbis honor.[36]
Crux humilis gladios elatos destruet, arma
Seva per assiduas conteret ara preces.
Belli clangores resonans campana refringet,
Cum feriet gentis canonis ense nephas.[37]
Si fas est dicam, papam denuntio segnem
Si gentem talem non abolere studet.
Dum sua iura tepent in iure paterculus esse[38]
Promeruit; talem nec decet esse patrem.
Si nolunt reges vindictam sumere, papa [105r]
Sumet; sed[39] pape pectora somnus habet.[40]
<114> Non didicit dormire Deus; si[41] surgere non vult
Ultio digna Dei, gens sua stare nequit.

31 For the only other account of a Jewish plot to assist the Mongols, see *CM*, 4.131-33. Matthew Paris specifically refers to 'gifts' / '*munera.*'
32 Note the further pun, '*messe*'/ '*Messyam sterilem.*'
33 Jerusalem.
34 John is referring to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.
35 Lines 105-09 are leonines. '*vermem*'/ 'the serpent' signifies the devil.
36 '*orbis honor,*' i.e. Jerusalem (see line 103).

Messiah. <113> Their aspiration bears no harvest, and is to be pitied for cherishing a sterile hope in such long expectation of their Messiah. It is this mistake of those very people who are black Tartarus itself that marks them out so that you can recognise them. They are not so much from hell, as hell itself. This race is too often called criminal,– it is itself a crime. The holy Scriptures single out these circumcised men, whose impact reverberates throughout the world.

Their city is the glory of the world in which the offspring of the Virgin washed away the sin of the world in a shower of His own blood. The Cross hurt Him, but the Cross has made us whole. The outcome had given us help because His death was the outcome. The Virgin granted us her death, but death steps back from the Virgin, through whom our life moves forward, and salvation returns to us. Hanging on the Cross, He disarmed the resourceful serpent, while the image of God the Father came upon Him. He is a man, who has taken his name from the chrism, and the Holy Spirit anointed Him within from on high. The mighty Son of God and the miraculous offspring of the gracious Virgin will punish these wickednesses. The humble suffering of Christ will lay low this overweaning arrogance, and through it this violent race is collapsing. Worldly glory perishes, worldly power rises and falls, and the glory of the world is dying. The lowly Cross will destroy drawn swords, and the altar will wear down these savage weapons through continual prayers. Church-bells will smash them into pieces as they ring out with the peals of war, when it smites the wickedness of this race with the sword of holy law.

If it is permitted to speak thus, I criticise the pope for his inaction, if he is not zealous in doing away with such a race. While his own legal rights lie lukewarm, he deserves to be called a pope-ling, and it isn't seemly that a pope should be in this situation. If the kings are unwilling to take up the cause of revenge, the pope will assume it. But slumber has taken a grip on him. <114> God did not teach him to sleep. If vengeance worthy of God is unwilling to spring forward, his people can no longer

37 John is carried away by his rhetoric. The language suggests his attack has shifted to the Emperor Frederick. It is hard to see what the sword of canon law could do against the Mongols.

38 '*Paterculus,*' a derogatory diminutive of '*Pater.*' In a discussion of diminutives, John refers to '*Pauperculus*' in *CG,* 2.429.

39 Read '*sed*' for Wright's '*si.*' The MS reading could be either.

40 Wright's punctuation is amended with the sense. In *PP,* 7.159 John uses the same imagery of a sleeping pope, in a specimen letter from Honorius III to Frederick II regarding the emperor's reluctance to engage in the Fifth Crusade (1218-21), '*Imputabitur negligentie sopnolenti pastoris si lupina lacerantur ovicule feritate.*'

41 Read '*si*' for Wright's '*sed.*'

Occidet Ecclesia, surget sinagoga, bonique
Occumbent, dabitur lux diuturna malis.
Cur, O terra, viros cum sis tam iusta nephandos
Sponte creas? Tellus, hoc tolerare potes?
Tu, pia nostra parens, paris omnia que pariendo
Donas et recipis accumulasque tibi.
Si pia sis mater, humanos exere mores,
Infaustumque parens inclita perde genus.
Puram tellurem gens polluit ista, suosque
Sordes vix poterunt hec elementa pati.
Absorbere velis gentem, gremiumque profundum
Pande tuum, capiat hanc Stigiale chaos.
Ablue pollute gentis vestigia, limphas
Emittas per quas hec[42] abolere queas.
Quos horret tellus, deglutiat unda,[43] relidat
Aër, turbo terat, concremet ignis edax.[44]
Prostratis monachis aras et templa cruentant,
Hiisque boves statuunt cornipedesque ligant.
Impedit Ecclesiam fera dum discordia regum,
Tartareos acuit liber ad arma furor.
In claustris sacrisque locis concumbere feda
Gens audet, vellit sancta sepulcra solo.
Sanctorum capsas constringit et eruit ossa.
Et gemmis, auro femina mecha nitet.
Mundis Ecclesie pannis immunda perornat
Membra, sacros calices tractat[45] et inde bibit.
Catholici falsi comitantur eos, vacuusque
Vispilio, cupidus fur, homicida rapax.
Sed Deus opposuit illis iuga, flumina, silvas,
Illiricas fauces, Theutonicasque manus.[46]
Sed rex Illiricus exclusos[47] circuit illos
Insidiis, nec eos hinc sinit ire procul.
<115> Hec Sarracenis gens peior, plus venerandam[48]
Sevit in Ecclesiam, quod ratione probo.
Memphis que fertur Damiata vigore coacta[49]
Summo, Christicolis clausa recepta fuit.
Illic per Pharias excrevit Nilus harenas,
Et Christi pugiles clausit et hausit aquis.

42 Read '*hec*' for Wright's '*hoc.*'
43 Num. 16, 34 & 36. Here '*deglutire*' is used of the earth rather than the sea.
44 '*ignis edax,*' *DTE,* 4.144.
45 Read '*tractat*' for '*trectat*' in MS and Wright.
46 *CM,* 4.107, for the imperial army under Frederick's son, Conrad.

remain standing. The Church will perish, Synagoga will prosper, and good men will lie dead while eternal light is vouchsafed to the wicked. Why, oh earth, when you are so just, do you willingly create wicked men? Earth, can you endure this? You, our holy mother, you provide everything, and through providing you give, and receive, and build up your resources. If you are our holy mother, cast out human ways, and, glorious parent, destroy this accursed race. This race is polluting the pure earth, and the elements will scarcely be able to survive their filth. May you be willing to swallow up this race, and spread your capacious lap, and let the chaos of Stygian darkness envelop it. Wash away the traces of a polluted race. May you gush streams of water with which you can be rid of all this. Those from whom the earth shrinks, let the sea spew them out, the air reject them, the wind wear them away, and consuming fire burn them to ashes.

They slaughter monks, then cover the altars and temples with blood, and put their cattle there and tie up their horses. So long as the vicious quarrelling of kings holds back the Church, free-ranging frenzy sharpens the Tartars' appetite for war. Their foul race dares to have sex in cloisters and holy places, and rips sacred tombs from the ground. They smash the saints' reliquaries, and scatter the bones. Their debauched women glitter with jewels and gold. They dress up their uncouth limbs in the fine vestments of the Church and desecrate holy chalices and use them for drinking. False Catholics keep them company, along with worthless burglars, greedy thieves and grasping murderers. But God placed in their way mountain passes, rivers, forests, the gorges of Illyria, and German forces. The king of Illyria kept them out by encircling them in an ambush, and did not let them go far from that area.

<115> This race is worse than the Saracens, and is more vicious towards the venerable Church. I shall demonstrate this by argument. Memphis, which is called Damietta, was overcome after a huge effort by the Christians, who besieged it and took it back. Then the Nile's floodwaters rose through the Pharian sands, and encircled

47 Read '*exclusos,*' for '*exclusus*' in MS and Wright.

48 Rubric in right margin, '*De captione Damiate civitatis in Aegypto a Christianis, et de perditione eius.*'

49 Wright's note suggests that this is an abrupt leap ahead to Louis IX's conquest of Damietta. It is however an example from the Fifth Crusade, intended to illustrate the Saracens' moral superiority to the Mongols. This is John's only substantive reference in *De triumphis* to the Fifth Crusade. In the *Epithalamium* 4. 103-04, John avoids giving a detailed account of this Crusade, '*Hec alias alio dixi pede plenius aptans / Historiam, causas in nova bella canens.*' John has however left no such account in *De triumphis* or elsewhere. If a book is missing (see Introduction, 3, 40-43), maybe this was its subject.

Quando Iherosalem rex inclitus ille Iohannes[50]
Impulerat gentem strage, cruore feram,
Nostra famem gens passa fuit vallata caterva
Hostili, Nili flumine clausa vagi.
Soldanus tamen Ecclesie transmisit alendis
Panes militibus, hostis in hoste pius.
Ad proprios dominos Memphis redit, hic[51] sed abire
Sancte permittit agmina densa Crucis.
Tempore post longo fuit Amalricus[52] ab illa [105v]
Captus gente, tamen redditus inde suis.
Hic Montis fortis comes, hic et Symonis heres
In reditu moritur, miles ad arma probus,
Quando Navarrensis rex et Campanicus heros[53]
It, redit, et sequitur inde Ricardus eum.
Hic frater regis Henrici struxerat unam
Turrim, qua gaudet Aschalonita regi.[54]
Risus adest elegis, lacrimas elegia nostra[55]
Tergit Luciferi lumine leta novi.
Tempore mestitie Romana sede vacante,[56]
Solamen summa mittit ab arce Deus.
Surgit leta Syon, Edmundi presulis alta
Gloria dum veri pascua veris[57] habet.[58]
Quo Pontiniaci crescit domus inclita, cuius
Anglia thesaurum deflet abesse sibi.
Gallis confessor datus est Edmundus, et Anglis
Martir,[59] utrique tamen Anglia mater erat.
Hic rex, hic primas; hic miles et ille sacerdos.
Dispare morte, pares sunt in honore stole.
<116> Primati pro martirio fuit aspera vita,
Pungentes ut apes qui reprobavit opes.
Vite velamen sancte nova mira revelant,[60]
Et reserat latebras mors radiosa sacras.

50 John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem. For his role in the Fifth Crusade, see Perry (2013), 90-119. For John see also *DTE*, 2, n. 21.

51 Read '*hic*' with MS, not '*haec*' with Wright.

52 Rubric in left margin, '*De aliis crucesignatis captis quibusdam comitibus nostris.*' This is a reference to the so-called Barons' Crusade (1239-41). Amaury de Montfort, son of Simon de Montfort, was captured by the Egyptians in 1239, and released in 1241, but died on the way home. For Amaury's role in the Albigensian Crusade see *DTE*, 5.53.

53 Thibault IV was count of Champagne and King of Navarre. '*Ricardus*' is not the Lionheart but Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. For the Barons' Crusade, see Lower (2005).

54 Richard refortified the strategically important castle fortifications in Ascalon in 1241, of which ruins remain, *CM*, 4.107.

Christ's champions and sucked them into its waters. After John, that famous king of Jerusalem, had struck the savage [Arab] race with bloody slaughter, our own people suffered hunger, surrounded as they were by enemy forces, and cut off by the stream of the unpredictable Nile. Yet the Sultan sent bread to feed the knights of the Church, a devout enemy towards his enemy. Memphis returned to its own rulers, but the sultan allowed the tightly packed ranks of the holy Cross to leave. A long time afterwards Amalric was captured by that people, but then handed back to his own side. He was the Count of Montfort, the heir to Simon; he died on the way back, an honourable knight. When the king of Navarre and hero of Champagne went there, he returned, and Richard followed him. He was the brother of King Henry and had built a tower in Ascalon, from which the people of Ascalon rejoice to be ruled.

Joy comes to my tragic verses, our poem wipes away its tears, joyful through the light of the new morning star. In this time of sadness while the Holy See is unoccupied, God sends solace from his highest citadel. Jerusalem rises in joy, while the great glory of Bishop Edmund dwells in the pastures of true spring. Thus the renowned foundation of Pontigny waxes strong, and England weeps that its treasure is abroad. Edmund the Confessor was given to the French, and Edmund the Martyr to the English, but England was mother to them both. The one was a king, the other an archbishop; the one a knight, the other a priest. Though they had different deaths, yet their burial robes are equal in honour.

<116> The archbishop suffered a harsh life rather than martyrdom, hating riches as if they were stinging bees. New miracles reveal the clothing he wore in his saintly life, and his glorious death unlocks the holy shadows. He was always moderate

55 Rubric in left margin, '*De sancto Edmundo confessore, qui eo tempore decessit juxta Provinum, translatus Pontiniacum, qui fuit archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.*'

56 See also *DTE,* 1.361-62, 5.153. This reference to the papal interregnum suggests John is writing between November 1241 and July 1243. This could be a celebration only of Edmund's posthumous miracles, but more likely John is referring to the election of Innocent IV as pope, and therefore writing in summer, 1243.

57 Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis,* 1, 208, '*Paulus ad aeterni convertit pascua veris.*'

58 Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury (1234-40), later St. Edmund of Abingdon. He was buried at the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, after dying en route to Rome in 1240. The monks of Canterbury refused to accept his remains. He taught in Oxford and Paris and may have been known to his contemporary, John of Garland. His final illness, death and miracles are extensively reported by Matthew Paris, see especially *CM,* 4.324-28. He was canonised in 1246. John is celebrating the discovery of evidence of miracles, which established the road to sainthood.

59 King Edmund the Martyr (855-869), *DTE,* 4.299-300, *CM,* 1.400.

60 *CM,* 4.324-25. Miracles are reported at Catesby where Edmund's *pallium* was kept.

Sobrius in vivis fuit, esurie satur, inter
Delicias humilis, in dominante cliens.
In Doctore fuit quasi discipulus, rigidusque
Cervici rigide, flexibilique pius,
Enitet Edmundus mundo, re, nomine mundus.[61]
Nubit dote Dei vox ita iuncta rei.
Irriguum fontem[62] cleri, meroris aquosus
Finis desiccat, et lacrimosa dies.[63]
Philosophia iacet plorans, Elegia clamat
In studio, studii Musa sonora tacet.[64]
Barbarolexis[65] adest, quoniam trufator honorem
Invenit, et rethor desipit arte sua.
Praeterea quidam Greci de more resistunt[66]
Romanis, cause disparitate sue.
Panes conficiunt altari; Roma repugnat
De simula cuius hostia pura placet.[67]
Plus feritatis habet ferus Ismaëlita, relegat
Humanos ritus, non homo, tigris atrox.[68]
Imperii dominos expugnat Grecia, regna
Omnia nature gens inimica sitit.[69]
Flandrensis comitis[70] virtus Bisancia regna
Rexerat, electos duxit in arma viros.
Dum caput imperii comes est animosus in armis,
Vincitur. Hunc carcer et locus ater habet.
Carcere sed fracto, divino munere clausus
Exit, et ad patrium pervenit usque solum.
Est primo princeps magno susceptus honore, [106r]
Quamvis et pauper et peregrinus adest.
Hunc si Tartareus populus cepisset,[71] ad ignem
Vertisset nudi membra veruta viri.
<117> Illius finem modo non reor esse canendum,
Si comes hic fuerat ut vaga fama sonat.

61 This is an untranslatable play on words. '*Mundus*' means both 'the world' and 'civilised, morally pure'. '*Edmundus*' reflects the pun.

62 '*inriguumque bibant violaria fontem,*' Vergil, *Georg.*, 4.32.

63 '*Lacrimosa dies,*' from the liturgy of the Requiem mass.

64 i.e. the Paris *studium.*

65 '*Inter barbarismum autem et barbarolexim hoc interest, quod barbarismus in verbo latino fit, dum corrumpitur; quando autem barbara verba latinis eloquiis inferuntur, barbarolexis dicitur,*' Isid. Orig., I.31. Here the word is used more loosely to describe deteriorating standards of Latin, though its use paves the way for an attack on Orthodox differences with the Roman Church.

66 Rubric in left margin, '*Elegia de Grecis rebellibus Ecclesie.*'

among the lively, gorged by fasting, modest among allurements, and a humble friend when he was in authority. As a Doctor he acted as though he was a pupil. He was stern to the stiff-necked, and fatherly to those who were tractable. Edmund [Rich] stood out in the world, thoroughly civilised in fact and by name. By the gift of God, his name was a perfect match for the substance of the man. The tearful consummation of grief, and that (final) day of tears dried up that fountain that had so refreshed the clergy. Philosophy lies lamenting; in the *studium* the song of mourning calls out, and the tuneful muse of the *studium* lies silent. Barbarisms are everywhere, since charlatans find honour and the teachers of rhetoric are hopeless at their art.

Furthermore, some Greeks are by habit resistant to the Romans because of the differences in their case. They make loaves for the altar, which Rome rejects, preferring their host to be unsullied and made with fine wheat flour [i.e. unleavened]. The savage Ishmaelites are more untamed, and reject our civilised religious usages not as human beings would, but like savage tigers. Greece is driving out the masters of the empire, while the race hostile to nature thirsts after every kingdom. The brave count of Flanders had ruled over the Byzantine kingdom, and led picked men into battle. While the count who headed the empire was a courageous warrior, he was defeated. He was held in a dark prison. But he broke out of prison and escaped from captivity through divine favour, and reached the land of his fathers. At first he was received like an emperor with great honour, though he appeared as a poor pilgrim. If the Tartar people had captured him, they would have stripped him and barbecued his limbs on a spit. <117> I do not think I would now be writing about his end if he [really] had been the count, as widespread rumour had it.

67 John refers to Greek objections revived in 1054 to the use by the Roman Church of unleavened bread at the Eucharist. See Whalen (2007) for an account of this, which became a major element in the 'great schism' between the churches.

68 John now places the Muslims beyond the pale of humanity.

69 John refers to increasing Greek pressure on the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The emperor Baldwin II attended the Council of Lyon in 1245, and unsuccessfully tried to attract western reinforcements. '*Regna / omnia nature gens inimica sitit*' clearly refers to the Muslims here.

70 Rubric in left margin. '*Elegia gravis de comite Flandrie electo in imperatorem, qui victus, captus et incarceratus tandem evasit et a suis in Flandria dampnabatur.*' Baldwin IX of Flanders was crowned Latin emperor in Constantinople in 1204. He was captured by the Greeks' allies, the Bulgarians, in 1205 and probably murdered. A man claiming to be him appeared in Flanders in 1225. Initially believed, he was later accused of imposture and executed in 1226. See Wolff (1952), 281-322, esp. 294-300.

71 i.e. if his captors had been the Mongols.

Grecorum pugnas et Sarracenica bella
Sufficiat nostris inseruisse malis.[72]
Filius, heu! quantum primo nunc distat ab Adam[73]
Nec scit nec tantum vivit inermis homo.
Nongentos annos simul et triginta peregit
Adam;[74] post mortem danda tributa dedit.
Annos Matusalem[75] nongentos decies sex
Et ter tres mortem viderat ante suam.
Quis tantum vivit? Nullus. Corruptio causa est
Nature nostre culpaque nostra gravis.
Non hodie primo surgit gens impia mundo.[76]
Pridem de Chanaan[77] venit iniqua manus,
Huic genti similis. Venumdare non dubitavit
Hungarie regem gens scelerata sua.
Cumanis et Tartareis[78] datus effugit, et vim
Colligit et cogit hos retroferre gradus.[79]
Muniti redeunt; sed nos altissima virtus
Protegat et faciat menia tuta Syon.
Sed reges nostri firmato federe[80] gentem
Crudelem vincent, predominante fide.
Sunt magni generis reges probitate quod augent,
Qui stimulant animos prelia quando parant.
Preterea magnas reparant ad prelia vires
Gallicus hinc illinc[81] Anglicus, arma gerens.
Troianus quondam fuerat dux Francus,[82] Alanos
Qui fregit fortes excidioque dedit.
Patri Francigene similes densantur in unum,
Sublimant animos exacuuntque suos.
Enee de stirpe fuit rex Brutus, et orbis
Partes occiduas subdidit ense sibi.
Eius ad exemplum pugnando Britannia maior
Assumit vires exstimulatque viros.
<118> Compositis igitur amborum viribus, omnes
Cedent Tharsenses Assiriique. Duces
Qui nisi perpetuo coniungunt federe dextras,
Pugnas perpetuas dissona regna gerent.
Non annus presens[83] hec prelia finiet; immo
Sentiet hec etas postera; cede nova

72 John may be skipping swiftly over the Fourth Crusade and sack of Constantinople of 1204, and the Fifth (1213-21) and Sixth (1227-29) Crusades. Or he may simply be referring to Greek and Muslim pressures on the Latin Empire and the Holy Land respectively.

73 Rubric in right margin, '*De brevi vita hominis.*'

74 Gen. 5, 3. John seems to be saying that Adam left the legacy of original sin, for which man is still paying.

Let it suffice to have included battles with the Greeks and wars against the Saracens amongst our woes. Alas! Son of God, defenceless mankind neither knows how much time separates us from that first Adam, nor can live as long [as he did]. Adam lived for nine hundred and thirty years, and left behind the tribute to be paid after his death. Methuselah witnessed nine hundred and sixty-nine years before he died. Who lives as long as that? No-one. Corruption of our nature is the reason, and our heavy sins.

Today is not the first time that a sacrilegious race is thrusting forward in the world; that hostile band came long ago from Canaan. Being like that tribe, his own criminal race did not hesitate to put the king of Hungary up for sale. He was offered up to the Cumans and Tartars, but escaped, put together a force, and made the Tartars retrace their steps. They have rearmed and are returning; but may the utmost courage protect us, and make safe the walls of Jerusalem.

But our kings have sealed a treaty, and will conquer this cruel race, and the Faith will prevail. They are kings of a mighty stock which they glorify by their noble breeding. They inspire [men's] spirits when they prepare for battle. They are mustering great forces for the battles [ahead], the French king on the one hand, the English king on the other, bearing arms.

There was once a leader of Trojan origin, Francio, who broke the power of the brave Alani, and destroyed them. Like their founding father, the French race is uniting, and raising and sharpening their spirits. King Brutus came from the stock of Aeneas, and subdued the western parts of the world with his sword. Following his example, a greater Britannia gathers strength, and inspires [men] to battle. <118> Against the combined might of these two united, all the Tartars and Assyrians will yield. But unless our leaders join their right hands in a perpetual treaty, their discordant kingdoms will wage perpetual war. This current year will not end these wars. Far from it. The period which follows will feel their effect. In fresh carnage, fierce Mars is impoverishing the two kingdoms, stripping cities of money, men

75 Gen. 5, 25.
76 Rubric in right margin, '*De proditione Cumanorum et Tartarorum saevitia.*'
77 See *DTE*, 6.309, & n. 104.
78 *CM*, 4. 131. Matthew Paris links Tartars and Cumans in his account of the 'Jewish plot.'
79 Here, John at first appears to be writing at the time of the 'Jewish plot' of 1241, blaming the Jews for betraying King Béla to the Cumans and the Mongols. But he then moves on to the idea that the kings of England and France, united after their war in 1242, will join forces to defeat the returning Mongols and make Jerusalem safe, both suggesting 1243 as a likely date, after the Barons' Crusade but before Jerusalem had been sacked by the Khwarazmians.
80 Louis IX and Henry III entered into a five-year truce in 1243, renewed in 1246, *CM*, 4.242, 506, and uneasily maintained. See also Jordan (1979), 25-26.
81 The two kings remain the subject of the sentence.
82 Francio, proverbially son of Hector, William le Breton, *Gesta Philippi,* 2-4. This is a good example of the prevalence of Trojan myths in literature of the time, juxtaposing the founding myths of France and England.
83 Almost certainly 1242. John is piecing together pieces of work written at different times.

Mars duo regna ferus depauperat, exuit urbes
Ere, viros vita, iugera messe sua.
Si propriam gentem rex diligit Anglicus ergo,
Dilecte gentis robore tutus erit.
Gallicus in comitem Tholose fortia mittit[84]
Agmina. Conflictus densat utrimque necem.
Quid mirum? Iustos quosdam stravere nephandi [106v]
Pro quibus excelsi dextera mira facit.
Inquisitores scelerum scelerata peremit[85]
Dextera, qui vivunt finis honore deo.
Sed regi comitem iam pax confederat ut sic
Altera rex levius subiuget arma sibi.
Federe treugarum suspendunt prelia reges.
O, utinam[86] pacem perpetuare velint.
Cognati reges geminas duxere sorores[87]
In natis geminis se geminabit amor.
Per bellum facinus geminabitur; absit, et assit
Ut geminetur amor, ut geminetur honor.
Est dum depositus fortis Fredericus,[88] et alter
Electus, surgit martius inde furor.[89]
Si Sarracenos Fredericus convocat, illi
Succumbent, Christi Crux superabit eos.[90]
Fracta pace Deus irascitur. Edocet illud
Perlustri sancto Scotia clara viro.
Brandanus[91] Eusebio maledixit teste Britannos;
Icirco flebant multa pericula pati.
Trans mare se misit et eos prece solvit eorum
Et peregre licuit ire venire viro.
<119> Frangentes igitur pacem maledictio franget.
Gratia nec fractos que reparabit erit.
Nonnulli densant acies telluris amore,[92]
Non celi; linquunt firma, caduca petunt.
Est hodie venalis amor simulataque virtus.
Et sic spe lucri falsus amicus erit.[93]

84 Louis IX sent an army to suppress Raymond VII's revolt in 1242, which led to his surrender, see line 281 and *CM*, 4.216.

85 The inquisitors and their retinue were murdered 28 May, 1242 in Avignonet (Garonne), *CM*, 226-27.

86 Read '*O, utinam*' MS, not '*continuam*' with Wright.

of their lives and the fields of their harvest. If then the king of England loves his own people, he will be secure through the strength of that beloved people. The French king sends powerful armies against the Count of Toulouse, and the conflict magnifies the mutual slaughter. This is not to be wondered at; criminals have laid low righteous men on whose behalf the right hand of the Most High works miracles. A criminal hand has struck down the inquisitors of crimes, who live on for God by the glory of their end. But peace had brought the count into a pact with the king, so the king can more easily bring the count's military strength under his control. The kings have suspended fighting under a truce agreement. May they desire to perpetuate the peace. These kings who are kinsmen married two sisters, and love will duplicate itself through their respective children. Sin itself would be doubled by war, so let war be banished, and let love and honour be by their side, so that they may be doubled. Meanwhile the mighty Frederick was deposed, and another chosen in his place; a frenzy for war is being generated by that. If Frederick calls his Saracens to arms, they will yield, and the Cross of Christ will overcome them.

God is angry when peace is broken. Scotland famously teaches us that through a glorious holy man. With Eusebius as his witness, Brendan placed a curse on the Britons; and as a result they wept at the many perils they underwent. He embarked on a voyage across the sea and set them free from their suffering by their prayers. He was able to set off and return from his overseas journey. <119> So a curse will break those who break the peace. Nor, once destroyed, will it be divine grace which restores them to health.

Not a few are gathering troops through love of land, not of Heaven. They leave behind what they firmly hold and pursue transitory gains. These days love can be bought and virtue faked, and thus a friend becomes false in anticipation of

87 Louis IX and Henry III married respectively Margaret and Eleanor, daughters of Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Provence.

88 Frederick II was formally deposed by Pope Innocent IV at the Council of Lyon in 1245. An anti-king, Heinrich Raspe was elected in 1246, but Frederick continued in practice to rule until his death in 1250.

89 Abulafia (1988), 375-80 covers the immediate aftermath of Frederick's deposition.

90 John is not suggesting that the Muslim world would rise in support of Frederick. There were significant numbers of Muslims in Southern Italy and Sicily, some of whom served in Frederick's armies.

91 St. Brendan was an Irish abbot and missionary in the fifth or sixth centuries CE. His voyage is described in *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis,* ed. C. Selmer (Notre Dame, 1959). Here John is citing not Eusebius, who predated Brendan, but Sigebert, an eleventh century continuator, *MGHSS*, 6.318. See also Ussher (1639), who quotes lines 293-300. (On Ussher, see Introduction, Ch. 2, 33 & n. 12 & *DTE*, 4, n.123).

92 Rubric in left margin, '*De cupiditate et de eius dampnatione.*' Vergil, *Aen* 1.171, '*magni telluris amore.*'

93 Augustine, *Sermones,* 68.1. '*Falsus amicus peior aperto amico.*'

Est aliquis iuste pugnans sed cum rigor ultra
Ius trahit, et poscens plus, capit inde minus.
Dum sulcat cupidus terram, verrit mare, predam
Hic et ibi querit, ulteriusque sitit.
Aëra temptaret, celumque invadere vellet,
Si cupidus celo posset habere viam.
Noxia nox baratri scandentes taliter omnes
Sorbet in exemplo Lucifer esse potest.
Sic aliquis metas temptans excedere retro
Labitur, et perdit qui sibi cuncta petit.
Sunt proceres quidam privantes iure vetusto
Ecclesiam, matris nec male dicta timent.
Nudus qui venit, nudus discedet, honestam
Huic nisi texuerint inclita facta togam.
Inter bella fames dominatur, planctus, egestas,
Formido, luxus, fraus, scelus, ira, fuga.
Nescio quo vertar![94] Aqua, flamma, rapina, ruina
Occurrunt, et habet mors vaga mille vias.
Materiale modo bellum, modo dico vicissim[95]
Spirituale; gemit undique pulsus homo.
Nusquam tuta quies, nusquam pax; hinc premit ensis,
Hinc vitium natos deicit, Eva, tuos.
Inter bella mali nolunt peccata fateri, [107r]
Penam iungendam qui timuere sibi.
Purgat pena levis culpas, confessio si sit
Previa, confessor si modo doctus erit.
Doctus terrebit caute, blandeque monebit.[96]
Presbiter ad[97] fletum temperat ipse metum.
<120> Lesi per verba, fecerunt peius acerba.
Ne noceas plaga, tu sapienter age![98]

94 Cicero, *Pro Ligario*, 1, '*Quo me vertam nescio.*'
95 Rubric in left margin, 'De spiritualibus bellis' / 'Regarding wars of the spirit.'
96 Lines 331-33 are leonines.
97 'm' is deleted in MS.
98 Amend '*plage*' in MS and Wright to '*plaga,*' with sense.

profit. Someone can be fighting with right on his side, yet when stubbornness draws him beyond what is rightly his, seeking more he ends up with less. As he greedily ploughs up the land, scours the sea, and looks for plunder everywhere, his thirst for more takes him further. He would make an attempt on the sky, and long to invade Heaven, if a man full of desire could [ever] have a route to Heaven. The noxious night of hell sucks in all who climb like that; Lucifer can serve as an example. That is how someone who tries to go beyond the limits slips back, and he who seeks everything for himself loses everything. Some magnates are depriving the Church of its long-standing rights, and have no fear of mother Church's curses. He who arrives naked will die naked, unless his glorious deeds have woven him a respectable robe.

In wartime, hunger, lamentation, poverty, fear, excess, deception, crime, rage and flight are in control. I do not know where to turn! Water, flames, looting, destruction confront us. Wandering death finds a thousand ways. Sometimes, by turns, I refer to the material war, sometimes the spiritual; mankind is smitten everywhere by war and is groaning. Nowhere is there peaceful security, nowhere peace; on one side, Eve, the sword assaults your sons, on the other, sin casts them down.

In wartime, wicked men refuse to confess their sins, because they have been afraid of the punishment which must be inflicted upon them. Provided the confessor is a learned man, and so long as confession comes first, a light penance purges misdemeanours. A learned man will take care as he instils fear and will chide gently; and an older man will himself mitigate into tears the fears <120> of a man who has been harshly spoken to. Harsh words [only] made things worse. To avoid doing harm by a flogging, act prudently yourself!

Frange cupidineos arcus, carnisque sagittas,
Et Veneris munda destrue mente faces.
Impugnant hominem caro, serpens, et leo, demon,
Et pelagus, mundus, et tonat ense polus.
Imminet huic pena gladius, leo, pontus, hyena.
Hec prece si superet vir diadema feret.[99]
Prelia sunt aliis peiora domestica carnis,[100]
Demonis et mundi;[101] tres tria bella movent.
Spiritus est unus, tres hostes, machina multa
Que pulsat mentis menia[102] fraude trium.
Spiritus est promptus, infirma caro, prope demon
Occultus, mundum lucida larva tegit.
Expilat mundus oculos, caro lubrica mentem
Glutinat hanc, Sathane retia multa trahunt.
Invadit cum morte senes hebetatio sensus,
Tabida tussis, hebes visio, scabra cutis
Frontis ruga, caro macilenta,[103] gravisque tumultus
Ventris, calvitium, rixa, querela, tremor.

99 In an illustration, **Plate 9**, **p. 343** in the right margin of f. 107 r. is a framed rectangular polychrome drawing of a naked man, kneeling in the sea and threatened by an angel wielding a sword, and a fanciful hyena and lion, both on their hind legs. The angel is placing a crown on his head. The man may represent Louis IX, courageously crossing the sea and confronting his enemies.

100 Rubric unusually in left margin of *recto* page, '*Elegia de rebellione carnis.*' (not '*crucis*', as in Wright). Drafts of both this and the following rubric are in the right margin, but this rubric is squeezed out by the illustration (see preceding note), and the next, in the right margin, is awkwardly placed, so as to look like the title for the illustration.

101 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber Sententiarum*, 2, '*Quattuor sunt, quorum in hac vita obsequiis deservimus: caro, mundus, diabolus, Deus.*'

102 Alan of Lille, *Liber de Planctu Naturae,* 13.17-18, '*Hospitium cordis, et moenia mentis avarae / Invadunt hostes multi.*'

103 '*caro predicat hec macilenta,*' from a song '*Clauso Cronos et serato*' from *Carmina burana* 13.73, Walsh (1993), 47.

Smash the bows of desire and the arrows of the flesh, and extinguish the torches of Venus by a virtuous spirit. The flesh, the serpent, the lion, and the devil attack mankind, and the sea, the earth and the sky resound with the clash of swords. The punishment comprising the sword, the lion, the sea and the hyena hangs over mankind. If a man can prevail over these by prayer, he will wear a crown. Our private battles with the flesh, the devil and the world are worse than other battles, and these three spark three wars. The spirit is one, there are three enemies, and many siege engines battering the battlements of our minds through the deceit of those three. The spirit is open to view and the flesh is weak; the devil is in hiding nearby, and a shimmering veil covers the earth. The world robs us of our eyes, the lewd flesh feasts on this temperament of ours, Satan's many nets draw us in. Along with death a dulling of perception attacks old men, along with a wasting cough, blurred eyesight, scaly skin, wrinkled brow, blotchy flesh, severe rumbling in the stomach, baldness, aggression, tetchiness, trembling.

Plate 9. MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, f. 107r, The sword, the lion, the sea and the hyena, *DTE*, 7.339-40.

Quid muliebre scelus posset, docet et probat uxor[104]
Arthuri, cuius crimine victus obit.
Modredum regis dum regi mecha nepotem
Pretulit innumeros perdidit illa viros.[105]
In Rutupi[106] portu frateriis decidit armis
Galvanus;[107] populi vivit in ore tamen.
Invictos vicere viros mala sponsa neposque
Regis; finitimos ergo cavete dolos.
Mistica Nasonis mutatio fit;[108] modo dama
Debitor est[109] fugiens, credita cuncta negans.
Arbor fructificat qui reddit debita. Fallax[110]
Fit vulpes, cupidus bupho, rapaxque lupus.
Par vagus est fluvio, porcello fedus, iniquus
Serpenti, milvo latro, petulcus equo.
<121>Portat avaritia rude saccum,[111] spicula lingua[112]
Livoris, gladios ira, libido faces.
Implicat accidia laqueos, se fastus inaurat
Casside, scrutatur vina cibosque gula.[113]
Cauponam celebrant in summo mane gulosi,
Nec satiare queunt ventris inane chaos.
Prestat apostolicis festis ieunia cunctis [107v]
Mens pia; sex cohibet regula fixa dies,
Petrus et Andreas, Jacobus cum Symone, Iudas
Matheusque, cibos attenuare monent.
Ieiunare iubet Laurentius, at pia Virgo
Inspirat dapibus nos reparare semel.
Non quadragenas, non tempora quatuor anni[114]
Respiciunt, certant qui vacuare ciphos.
Vortigerne, Britonum rex, tibi femina potus
Dans prius equales auxit in orbe gulam.[115]
Sancte tibi, Michael, siquis ieiunia prestat
Angelicisque choris, celica dona feret.
Hii nos tutantur, pellunt fantasmata, pestes
Aërias removent, insidiasque fugant.
In somnis hominem perturbant somnia; tractat
Frivola, sed vigilat sit nisi serva caro.

104 Rubric in right margin, '*De malitia uxoris Arthuri.*'
105 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *De Gestis Britonum,* 177, 20-23.
106 Richborough.
107 For Gawain, see also *DTE,* 1.385-89, 6.67-69.
108 John compares disappearing debtors with one of Ovid's Metamorphoses in the language of John's *Integumenta Ovidii.*
109 Read '*debitor est*' with MS, for Wright's '*debitorem.*'

The wife of Arthur, through whose crime he suffered defeat and death, is an object lesson of what female wickedness is capable of. In favouring Mordred, the king's nephew, over the king, that adulteress was the ruin of countless men. Gawain fell to his brother's weapons at the port of Richborough; yet he [still] lives on the lips of the people. The wicked wife and the nephew of the king defeated men who were unbeaten. Therefore beware plots from those who are nearest.

One of Ovid's mystical metamorphoses takes place; a man who was just now a runaway debtor, denying all his debts, turns into a deer. A tree bears fruit which returns its debts. Cheats become foxes, lechers become toads, and thieves, wolves. The footloose are like rivers, scruffy people like pigs; the unrighteous resemble snakes, freebooters birds of prey, wantons are like horses.

<121> Avarice carries a rough sack, the tongue of Envy carries barbs. Anger carries swords and Lust burning torches. Sloth gets you tangled up in snares, Pride gilds itself with a metal helmet, and Gluttony searches out wine and food. Gluttons flock into the inn first thing in the morning, but cannot satisfy the empty void in their bellies.

The religious spirit stands out by fasting on all the feasts of the apostles. A fixed rule marks out six days; Peter, Andrew, James, Simon, Jude and Matthew advise us to cut back on food. Lawrence orders us to fast, but the Holy Virgin inspires us to restore ourselves by feasting just once [a year]. Those who compete to empty their glasses have no regard for Lent or for the four [fasting] seasons of the year. Vortigern, king of the Britons!– a woman made the world a more debauched place by being the first to keep up with you in drinking.

Blessed Michael and choirs of angels, whoever excels you in fasting will receive Heavenly gifts. It is they who keep us safe, drive away nightmares, filter out the pestilences in the air, and drive away traps that lie in wait. Dreams trouble men in their sleep; a man deals with them as trivial things, but lies awake unless the flesh is his slave.

110 See n.19 above. Lines 61-64 in this edition are at 363-66 in the MS. The scribe was understandably misled by the reference in the new line 363 to trees and fruit.

111 Read '*saccum,*' Avarice's usual attribute, for Wright's '*scutum.*'

112 Rubric in right margin, '*De vii criminalibus, et de dominatione gule.*'

113 John enunciates the seven deadly sins. He uses '*fastus*' for the more usual '*superbia,*' and '*libido*' for '*luxuria.*'

114 '*tempora quatuor,*' see *DTE,* 5.97 *&* n. 21.

115 Vortigern, King of the Britons, made over Kent to Hengist in exchange for his daughter Rowena, who had plied him with drink, GM, 100. '*Vortigerne*' upsets the metre.

Vix venit ad celum miles, vix clericus; illud
Simpliciter credens rustica turba rapit.
Ex alphabeto sequitur meditatio longa,[116]
Pena gravis, facilis rixa, remota via,
Mors anime. Pro divitiis vel carnis amore
Aut heresi, sic, sic, quid didicisse iuvat?
Brutis voce pares populus stupet; ecce scolares,
Dum fatue clamant, verbaque litis amant.
<122> Vocem caprinam nunc fingunt, nunc asininam.[117]
Formant voce sues, effigiantque grues.
'Ha!'[118] dabitur pueris post 'a', nisi tempora vite[119]
Disponant, studii sit nisi meta Deus.
Si genitor peccat, in eodem filius errat,
Et terrena sequi patre docente studet.
Dulce dedisse Deo[120] vitam que tam cito labens
Tempora continuat parva labore gravi.
Felix[121] febris erat regis, qua Gallia tota
Est cum rege suo baiula facta Crucis.
Cesareas aquilas et regis lilia nostri[122]
Formidat solo Parthia victa metu.
Est fundata super Francorum gesta libelli[123]
Pagina, contentis continuata suis.
Occidue partes equites transmittere fortes
Festinant, Babilon ut retro signa ferat.
Athletas fidei prostratos templa ruentes
Sancta Dei doleo, damnaque plango nova.[124]
Sanguine sed fuso Parthorum milia multa
Ante suam mortem strata dedere solo.
Flet flebitque magis princeps Babilonis; in illum
Pergere proponit martia turba Crucis.
A papa missus referens a cardine nomen,
Otto Crucis miles de Cruce verba serit.[125]
Rex utinam vivat Francorum, baiulus ipse
Est Crucis; efficitur istud agente Deo.
Regia Crux pacis est causa preambula; pulsis [108r]
Florebit reprobis clerus in urbe Salem.

116 Rubric in left margin, '*De elegia vite scolastice.*' Wright's punctuation is changed significantly here.
117 Read '*nunc*' for Wright's '*nec,*' with the sense and MS, in both cases.
118 *CG,* 2.1633, "*dolet 'heu,' dolet 'ha,' dolet 'heheu.'*"
119 Read '*dabitur*' with MS, and not '*habitur*' with Wright. Repunctuate, as against Wright's '*Ha! Habitur pueris post .a.nisi tempora vitae/ Disponant, studii sit nisi meta Deus.*'
120 Ovid, *Fasti,* 3.696, '*et iuvat hanc magno verba dedisse deo.*' This line probably refers to John's own life slipping away.

It is hard for the knight and the cleric to make their way to Heaven; but in their simple faith the rustic populace grasp it. From book-learning there follows on lengthy theorising, much pain, volatile disputation, a lonely road, and death of the spirit of life. What on earth is the pleasure in learning like this in pursuit of wealth, or carnal love, or heresy? Ordinary people are astonished at these men with animals' voices. Hark at the scholars, who are ranting idiocies and revelling in legal language. <122> Now they mimic the voices of goats, now of donkeys. By their voices, they conjure up pigs, and caricature cranes. Boys will be given grief once they have learned the letter 'a', unless they organise the seasons of their lives, and unless God is the finishing post of their study. If the father sins, the son sins in the same way, and becomes keen on pursuing earthly things. It is a sweet thing to have offered to God a life which slips away so fast and ekes out so laboriously its scanty span of time.

The king's fever was auspicious, since through it the whole of France was made a bearer of the Cross together with its king. Parthia has succumbed to fear, and dreads Caesar's eagles and the lilies of our king on its soil. The pages of my book are based on the deeds of the Franks, a sequel with subject matter of its own. The western regions are hastening to despatch well-armed knights, to make the Egyptians retreat. I grieve at the athletes of the faith laid low as they tried to force their way into the holy temples of God, and I lament these new losses. But much blood was shed, and they laid low many thousands of Parthians on the ground before meeting their own deaths. The emperor of Babylon weeps and will weep more, as the martial host of the Cross prepares to march against him.

Eudes, a soldier of the Cross, whose title means 'turning point', has been sent by the pope to sow the words of the Cross. Long live the king of the French! He is the Cross-bearer. This is being achieved by the agency of God. The king's crusading Cross is a necessary condition for peace, and the clergy will flourish in the city of

121 Louis IX's fever was '*felix*' because he took the Cross on his recovery in 1244, and began planning the Seventh Crusade. This marks the start of John's narrative of that campaign. He hyperbolically says the whole of France is taking the Cross.

122 John here assumes the emperor will join the crusade.

123 The oldest manuscripts of the anonymous account produced very soon after the First Crusade give it the name '*Gesta Francorum.*' John may conceivably be referring to it directly. More likely, however, he is echoing the *incipit* of William le Breton's *Gesta Philippi Augusti.*

124 At the battle of La Forbie in 1244, the Khwarazmians, supported by Egyptian forces, won a crushing victory over the Latins, allied to Muslims from Homs and Aleppo. The military orders suffered particularly badly. The Latins never recovered Jerusalem, *CM*, 4.299-311.

Anni sunt quinque decies octoque peracti,[126]
Ut Crucis accepte tiro Philippus erat.[127]
Quatuor armantur fratres Cruce: rex Ludovicus,
Robertusque comes, Attrebatense decus,
Pictavie dominus Alphonsus, Karolus audax,
Cui Provincia dat robur habere suum.[128]
<123> Remundum comitem mors surripit ausa Tholose.[129]
Hugonis[130] sequitur Marchia mota Crucem,
Dux Burgundorum regi favet Hugo secundus,[131]
Guillermi comitis Flandria scuta gerit.[132]
Qui se subtraxit inglorius occidit ille,
Cui preclara Crucis gloria vilis erat.
Hastam pauper homo portat, veteremque galerum,
Herbum sponsa, duplex pondus asella brevis.
Hinc puer, hinc saccus pendet, lac prebet asella
Pullo, lac puero ducta capella macra.
Dum dant cuncta Cruci sua quamvis parvula donant,
Divitibus multis uberiora Deo.
Impediunt Terre per bella negotia Sancte
Qui papam bello sollicitare student.
Ve cunctis illis qui marte negotia tardant,
Impediuntque sacre signa parata Crucis.
Sit collata Dei pax et benedictio cunctis
Est promota quibus martia turma Syon.
Vincere si vultis humili prece, vincite; sancti
Abbatis[133] precibus mira videre licet.
Imperium liquit Iulianus Apostota,[134] fossus
Hasta defuncti. Matre iubente Dei,
Cenobii sancti domus est ita libera.[135] Victor
Quiriacus miles ad sua busta redit
Sumpta reponebat in templo Virginis arma,
Intrans in foveam Patre vidente loci.
Almipare matris inter miracula lecta
Nomina sunt alia, codice teste sacro.
Urbis Cesaree presul Basilius[136] ista

125 Eudes (Odo) of Châteauroux was made cardinal-bishop of Frascati in 1244 and sent by Innocent IV to France to preach the Cross. He accompanied Louis IX on crusade. John makes the etymological point that 'cardinal' is derived from '*cardo*' / 'hinge, pivot [in the affairs of Christendom].'

126 Here the word '*parati*' is deleted in the MS, as an error for '*peracti.*'

127 Philip II took the Cross in January, 1189, Rigord, 55.

128 Louis' brothers Robert of Artois and Charles of Anjou embarked with Louis from Aigues Mortes on 25 August, 1249. Alphonse of Poitiers joined them in Damietta, leaving Marseille in spring 1249. Except for the countess of Artois, who was pregnant, their wives accompanied them.

129 Raymond VII of Toulouse died in Marseille on 27 September, 1248, before he could embark on crusade.

Jerusalem and the ungodly will be put to flight. It is fifty-eight years since Philip first took the Cross. Four brothers were armed with the Cross, King Louis, Robert, Count of Artois and its glory, Alphonse, lord of Picardy, and bold Charles, to whom Provence gives its strength as his own.

<123> Death dared to snatch away Raymond, count of Toulouse. La Marche rose up and followed Hugh's Cross. A second Hugh, Duke of Burgundy supported the king, and Flanders sported the arms of Count William. He withdrew from the crusade and died ingloriously; for him the fame and glory of the Cross was a thing of little worth.

Poor men carried spears, and old leather helmets. Their wives carried vegetables, and their little ass was doubly laden. Here a boy hangs on, here a saddle-bag dangles, the ass offers milk to her foal, and the scrawny she-goat they had brought gives milk to the boy. As they all give what they have, however small, to the Cross, they make a richer offering to God than many rich men.

Those who devote their energies to making war on the pope block the cause of the Holy Land by their war-mongering. A curse on all those who slow up that cause by hostile acts, and stand in the way of the banners of the holy Cross which stand ready. May the peace and blessing of God be conferred on all who support the warlike army of Jerusalem.

If you want to achieve victory through humble prayer, go for victory; you can observe the miracles achieved by a holy abbot's prayers. Julian the Apostate left behind his empire, transfixed by the spear of a dead man. That is how the house of the holy cloister was made free at the command of the mother of God. The knight Quiriacus triumphed over him and returned to his own tomb. He put the weapons he had taken up back in the temple of the Virgin, as he went into the vault under the eye of the Father. Among the miracles of the gracious Mother I have read about, there are various names, as a holy manuscript bears witness. Basil, bishop

130 Hugh X de Lusignan, see *DTE,* 1, n. 105.

131 Hugh IV, Duke of Burgundy (1213-72).

132 William III, count of Flanders (1247-51), went on crusade and returned to Flanders in 1250, dying in a tournament in 1251.

133 The context suggests that John is referring to the prayers of St. Basil, Bishop of Caesarea (329/30 – 379). It was through his prayers that the Virgin Mary was believed to have miraculously effected the death of Julian the Apostate by bringing Mercurius back to life to kill him, JdeM, 326. But Basil was certainly not an abbot. John's more likely message is that those who are not part of the crusading army can still contribute to its victory through prayer. Line 450 may refer to Élie Guerin, the Abbot of Grandselve, *DTE* 5.271, and be a compliment to Eudes de Châteauroux, also a former abbot there.

134 'Julian the Apostate', Flavius Claudius Julianus, Roman Emperor 331-63. For another account of this version of Julian's death, see *Stella*, 430-41, & 181-82. For Julian, see also *DTE,* 1.411-14 & n. 113, and 2.583-86 & n. 147.

135 St. Basil was credited with establishing the first '*coenobium,*' / 'monastery' near Caesarea in 360.

136 St. Basil, bishop of Caesarea

137 Read '*sancta*' for Wright's '*facta.*'

Vidit. Mercurius nomine miles erat.
Dicitur hasta 'quiris;' hinc 'Quiriacum' puto dictum
Impulsu cuius hasta cruenta fuit.
Incantator erat Iulianus apostota; turbas
Demonicas sancta[137] vidit abire Cruce.
<124> Vidit, et invidit,[138] et diruit inclita templa,
Sed prius, ut dixi, dirutus hostis erat.
Vis est mira Crucis inter miracula sancte
Virginis, est Ierico que speciosa rosa.[139]
Ad civile forum Rome quasi clericus actor
Demon visus erat calliditate sua.
Mater de nato natum concepit ab illo;
Hoc de peccato causa movenda fuit.
Pape confessa Luciano[140] fletibus ora [108v]
Merserat et Christi matris habebat opem.
Coram iudicibus invisibilis stat amena
Virgo; sublimat laudibus hostis eam.
Accusata prius, ab eo laudatur et omnes
Se Cruce consignant frontibus; ille fugit.
Suppeditant bellum sibi materiale potestas,[141]
Canonis et gladium[142] spiritualis apex.[143]
Fert de concilio generali[144] sic mihi Clio;
Ad nutum pape cuncta peracta cape.
Signum retrogradi Frederico flebile cancri
Depositum tristes signat inire dies.
Hic licet astronomus esset, non vidit in astris
Se deponendum, seque referre gradum.
Sed leo subsequitur de cancro; si leo fiat,
Efficiet fortes febricitare[145] metu.
Papa dabit gladium, sed siquis abutitur illo
Hunc privare dator munere debet eo.[146]
Divine menti que sunt ventura relinquo,
Dum portum properat cimba tenere mea.[147]

138 '*vidit, et invidit,*' Augustine, *Sermones,* 229.2.

139 *Anastatica,* the plant 'rose of Jericho' or '*rosa Sanctae Mariae*' has a capability, regarded as miraculous, for springing into life after long periods of drought.

140 See *Stella,* 382-99, for another version from John of this traditional Marian story, and *Stella,* 176 for full background. Like Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 8. 95, John refers to Pope Lucius as '*Lucianus.*'

141 This follows on from line 448. Lines 449-478 have been interposed to illustrate the power of the Cross and the limits of sorcery, prior to a denunciation of Frederick II.

142 Read '*gladium*' for '*gladii*' in MS and Wright, with sense and grammar. John is contrasting secular with spiritual power. John scans the first syllable of '*canonis*' long.

143 A verbal allusion to Innocent IV's apostolic letter deposing Frederick II, '*Ad Apostolicae Dignitatis Apicem.*' This was promulgated on 17 July 1245, under the sign of Cancer.

of Caesarea, witnessed these events. The knight was called Mercurius. '*Quiris*' is a word for 'spear'. I think that is why the man whose thrust made the spear blood-stained was called 'Quiriacus.' Julian the Apostate was a sorcerer, yet he saw the hordes of demons shrink from the holy Cross. <124> He saw, and resented it, and destroyed glorious places of worship; but first, as I have recounted, the devil had been overthrown.

The power of the holy Cross is astounding amongst the miracles of the Blessed Virgin, she who is the beautiful rose of Jericho. Through his cunning, the Devil had appeared as a priest as plaintiff before the city court in Rome. By his agency, a mother had conceived a son by her own son, and it was in respect of this crime that the case was to be brought against her. She drenched her face with tears and confessed to Pope Lucius, and received the support of the mother of Christ. The serene Virgin stood, invisible, before the judges, and the Devil deluged the woman with compliments. Though she was at first accused, she was praised by the Devil and everyone marked their foreheads with the Cross, while the Devil took flight.

The [imperial] power supplied himself with the means of physical war, the head of the Church with the sword of canon law. This is what Clio tells me about the General Council [1245]. Learn of everything which was done at the pope's nod. The tearful sign of the crab, which walks backwards, was deposed, and pointed the way to sad times. Though this man was an astrologer, he did not see his deposition in the stars, and that he himself would yield up his rank. But Leo the Lion follows on from Cancer the Crab. If a lion emerges, he will make strong men shake with fear. The pope will provide the sword, but if anyone misuses it, he who offered the gift should take it away. I leave what is to come to the divine purpose, as my

144 The first Council of Lyon, 1245.

145 '*t[ibi]*' is deleted in MS here.

146 See Abulafia (1988), 375-80 for events after Frederick's deposition. John appears to be criticizing Innocent IV's support for the failed plot to kill Frederick.

147 This could indicate that John thinks his death is imminent; but could also mean that *DTE* is nearing completion.

Quod tamen in primis promisi, dicere nitar,
Hostes victrici succubuisse Cruci.
Multiplicat planctum primus liber, arma secundus
Preparat; ordo sequens prelia seva movet.
Sanctorum monstratur hiis victoria, mundi
Corruptela, scelus, pompa, ruina, dolus.
Historiis satiras[148] et gesta tragedica iunxi,
Hec ut venturi singula vera legant.

148 John defines satire, '*in qua recitantur malefacta causa correctionis,*' and tragedy as '*carmen quod incipit a gaudio et terminatur in luctum,*' both subdivisions of '*historicum,*' *PP,* 5.360-66, with Lawler's notes.

barque hastens to its [final] harbour. I shall strive to say what I promised at the beginning, that its enemies surrendered to the victorious Cross. The first book piles lament on lament, the second sets the scene, and the following sequence sets fierce battles in motion; in these are displayed the victory of the saints, and earthly corruption, crime, pride, destruction and deceit. I have conjoined satires and tragic deeds with these historical accounts, so that people to come can read these true facts one by one.

Book 8

Incipit liber octavus

<125> Qui legis historias gentiles, perlege mira
Christi; vanescant numina vana Iovis.[1]
Est liber hic nonus[2] qui cum preeuntibus[3] octo
Ecclesie laudes, bella, trophea canit.
Tempora cum causis,[4] adversaque mixta secundis,[5]
Nasonisque sacris obvia sacra leges.
Crede dies fastos omnes nullosque nefastos
Et quecumque Deus fecerit esse bona.
Virgo concipitur, oritur, verbum capit, ortum
Fert templo; sumpte dat diadema Deus.
Hec annum stipant sacra festa,[6] sed altera festa
Pretereo, titulis sunt quia nota suis.
Vates non culpo; fidei sed luce carebant,
Quorum sunt multis lucida scripta bonis.
Virgilii mirandi viret sententia, Naso[7]
Tanquam de nihilo carmina longa trahit.
Statius in serie vernat, Lucanus adaugens
Mores historiis phisica multa canit.
Hos sequor in metro tanquam vestigia nanus[8]
Herculis, et forsan ut therebintus ebur.[9]
Nil mihi dant nostri proceres pro carmine dulci.
Hii quondam fuerant qui didicere dare. [109r]
Hic est laus Christi, laus Virginis et Crucis, et laus
Regum, certamen qui subiere Crucis.
<126> Nescit iperbolicas heroum fingere laudes
Clio, solamen sed mihi quero meum.
Sepe Crucis repeto sacre preconia; merces
Hec erit, et studii laurea leta mei.
Copia nummorum regnat,[10] non gratia morum.
Si pauper fuerit,[11] vilis Homerus erit.

1 Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.684. '*Numina vana Jovis*' appears in some MSS of the *Fasti*, though modern editors have preferred '*magna.*'
2 See Introduction, 3, 40-42.
3 Read, with MS, '*praeeuntibus,*' not, with Wright, '*pereuntibus.*'
4 '*Tempora cum causis,*' 'Events and their causes.' Ovid's opening words, *Fasti,* 1.1.
5 Lucan, 5.3, '*miscens adversa secundis.*' Walter of Châtillon, *Alex.,* 2.154, '*mixta adversa secundis.*'
6 John refers to the Feasts of the Immaculate Conception (8 December), the Nativity of Mary (8 September), the Annunciation (25 March), and the Assumption (15 August), and to the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple (2 February).

Book 8

The eighth book begins

<125> You who read accounts of the pagans, read carefully of the miracles of Christ, and let the insubstantial ghosts of Jupiter fade away. This is the ninth book, which with the previous eight sings of the praises, wars and victories of the Church. You will read of events and their causes, of reverses mixed with successes, and of holy things to compare with what Ovid wrote about the gods. Believe that every day is an auspicious day, and that none are of ill omen, and that whatever things God may have done are good. The Virgin was conceived and was born; she embraced the Word and she presented her offspring in the temple; God gave a crown to her after her Assumption. These holy days fill our year, but I pass over in silence other holy days since they are known to us by their designations. I do not blame the [ancient] poets; but they lacked the light of the Faith, though their writings are full of light, with many virtues. The sentences of our miraculous Vergil still live, and Ovid conjures out long poems as if from nothing. Statius springs afresh in the line of succession, and Lucan adds moral issues to history and writes of many aspects of nature. I follow them in verse like a dwarf following in the footprints of Hercules, or perhaps like terebinth wood aping ivory. Our magnates are giving me nothing for a pleasing poem; men who learned to give had existed long ago.

Here you will find praise for Christ, praise for the Virgin and of the Cross, and praise for the kings who have undertaken the struggle for the Cross. <126> My Muse, Clio, cannot concoct overblown eulogies for heroes, but I seek my consolation through frequent praise for the holy Cross. This will be my reward, and the joyful laurel wreath for my work. Abundance of wealth rules the day, not acknowledgement of virtuous principles, so if Homer was a pauper he will be reckoned of little worth.

7 Lines 15-18 each have their own rubrics in the left margin, '*Vergilius,*' '*Ovidius;*' '*Statius,*' and '*Lucanus*' respectively.

8 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, 3.4, '*Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantum humeris insidentes…*'.

9 Ovid, *Ex Ponto,* 3.3.98, '*nec, quod erat candens, fit terebinthus ebur.*'

10 Walter of Châtillon, *Carmina* 10, '*Nummus vincit, nummus regnat, nummus cunctis imperat.*'

11 Homer was believed to have been poor, Claudian, *Epigrams,* 24.16. See also *CG,* 4.1089-90 on the current obsession with wealth.

Hos elegos lector noli contemnere, rerum
Hic quia naturas et nova gesta leges.
Est homini melius habitacula poscere luctus
Quam risus; dictis ut Salomonis habes,
Occupat extremo plausum dolor;[12] ergo dolere
Sic discas, plausus possit ut inde sequi.[13]
Ad nova bella Crucis post spirituale flagellum
Apto stilum, mediis continuata ligans.
Inter mesta canit letos stilus iste triumphos,
Qui planctum plausu,[14] prelia pace fugant.
Sacre castra Crucis dum ducit fortia Christus,[15]
Victrix letatur per Crucis arma fides.
Quem peperit Virgo, fructus tulit in Cruce, vitam
In Cruce nos sacram fructificare docens.
Pro Cruce sumenda que predicat unus et alter
Pretereo, series est quia longa stili.
Urbs Acronensis collectis viribus hostes
Compulit illata strage referre gradus.[16]
Accedent vexilla Crucis penitusque repellent
Hostes et fient libera signa[17] Syon.
Per vexilla crucis elegia maesta recedit;
Sepe sed incautis culpa suborta nocet.
Sobrius et castus,[18] orans, humilisque fidelis
Et patiens debet baiulus esse Crucis.
Hanc infra legem, felix Elegia, virtus
Est electa, favum fundit, aroma sapit.
Si quandoque pluit, succedit gratia solis.
Fortuneque fugat nubila leta dies.
<127> Qui sibi vult luctus avertere,[19] corda serenent
Huic divinus amor obsequiumque Crucis.[20]
Succumbunt anime victrici prelia cuncta,
Summa triumphantis gloria cuius erit.
Suffusos lacrimis mihi dextera tergit ocellos[21]
Risibus et lacrimis debet inesse modus.
Sed modus in scelerum factis quia[22] nescit haberi,
Vix poterit finem planctus habere suum.
Sponsa triumphabit in celis que domat hostes
In terris, risus excitat ergo michi.

12 '*Risus dolore miscebitur, et extrema gaudii luctus occupant,*' Prov. 14, 13.
13 Wright's punctuation is varied.
14 Alan of Lille, *De planctu naturae,* 1.1-2, '*In lacrimas risus, in luctus gaudia verto / In planctum plausus, in lacrimosa iocos,*' See also *DTE,* Preface.1.
15 Here John's language reverts to that of the '*Exhortatio ad crucem suscipiendam*' of Book 2.

Do not despise these elegiacs, dear reader, because here you will read of the nature of things, and of new deeds. It is better for man to seek out the dwelling places of pain than of laughter, as you have it from the sayings of Solomon. Pain ultimately wins approbation. May you therefore learn to bear pain by this route, so that your approbation can follow from it. I am readying my pen as a spiritual flail towards new wars in the future on behalf of the Cross, linking these continued campaigns to those which form the middle part of my poem. Among the sadnesses, this pen of mine writes of joyful triumphs, which dismiss lamenting with shouts of approval, and battles with peace. So long as Christ leads the brave armies of the holy Cross, the Faith rejoices, victorious through the weapons of the Cross. He who was borne by the Virgin reaped His harvest on the Cross, teaching us on the Cross that a holy life bears fruit. I pass over what one or two people are preaching about taking the Cross, since it is a long catalogue for my pen.

The city of Acre gathered its forces and slaughtered the enemy (1191), forcing them to retreat. The banners of the Cross will attack, and drive the enemy right back, and the wonders of Jerusalem will become free. Thanks to the banners of the Cross, the sadness of my lament is fading, but always guilt creeps up and harms the unwary. The guardian of the Cross should be sober and chaste, say his prayers, and be humble, strong in his faith and prepared to suffer. Following this law, Elegia is happy, people choose virtue, the bees establish the honeycomb, and the wine's bouquet is fragrant. Whenever it rains, there follows the blessing of sunshine, and joyful day scatters the clouds of fortune.

<127> Whoever wants to deflect grief from himself, let the love of God and obedience to the Cross calm his heart. All wars surrender to a victorious spirit, which will triumph and will possess the highest glory. My right hand wipes my eyes which are full of tears; there should be inside us a limit to laughter and to tears. Yet since committing sins knows no way of limiting itself, lament will hardly be able have a boundary. The Virgin will triumph in the Heavens, she who subdues our enemies on earth, and brings laughter to my heart.

16 A discreet reference to the capture of Acre from the Muslims under Saladin in the Third Crusade, and to King Richard's execution of hostages (1191), *IPGRR*, 3.17- 4.4. John is using the Third Crusade as a successful model for the Seventh.

17 '*signa*' often meant 'miracles,' hence 'wonders.'

18 '*Sobrius et castus,*' Orderic Vitalis, 4, p. 354, '*humilis, fidelis,*' Peter of Blois, *Sermones* 10, Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 1.43, '*Vir sobrius, modestus, et castus; stabilis, firmus, atque fidelis.*'

19 Statius, Thebaid, 5.276, '*lacrimisque avertere luctus.*'

20 Gerald of Wales, *De Instructione Principis* 8.10.

21 Valerius Maximus, 2.6.8, '*suffusis tamen lacrimis,*' Vergil *Aen*, 1.228, '*tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis.*'

22 Read '*quia*' with MS for Wright's '*quod.*'

Lugdunum venit quo sanctus tempore papa[23]
Hoc mea Parisius Musa trahebat opus.
Mille ducentenis coniungo decem quater annos
Virginis a partu, tresque duosque ligo. [110r]
Cronographi[24] iungunt annorum milia quinque
Annis bis centum, demitur unus eis,
Virginis ad partum tot ponunt orbis ab ortu
Annos. Ulterius tempora certa patent.
Papa citat contra discordes federa patrum;
Assunt et redeunt ecclesiasque regunt
Presul Guillelmus[25] et cancellarius urbis
Petrus Parisius; docmata sacra ferunt.[26]
Doctores reprimunt mundi mala, que nisi crebro
Corriperent recti nemo teneret iter.
Annis predictis Domini ternarius assit[27]
Ad pelagus properant undique signa Crucis.
Civibus urbs Parme Frederici sternere palmam
Gaudet,[28] et innumera strage fugare ducem.
Prefertur bello victricis imago Marie,
Datque suas vires previa Virgo viris.[29]
Regis prelustris sacrata capella[30] ferebat
Parisius nenie munera[31] larga nove,
Omni luce per octo dies, septemque decemque
Annos et decies quatuor adde dies.
<128> Mortua portus Aqua[32] dictus Ludovitica signa
Suscipit, et classes a statione movet.
Tartaree gentis rex sacro fonte renasci[33]
Poscit, sed caveat Gallica turma dolos!
Franci, Teutonici, Daci densantur et Angli[34]
Et leti tanto sub duce bella petunt.

23 The first Council of Lyon, 1245. John makes it clear that he was working in Paris on *De triumphis*.
24 i. e. Eusebius, Jerome and Bede, See McKitterick (2004), 7-13.
25 William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris (1228-49), and Petrus Parvus, Chancellor of the University of Paris, probably 1244-46. See Hauréau (1877), 6, Paetow, *MS* Intro., 123, n.17.
26 The Council of Lyon promulgated reforms aimed at curbing corruption in the Church, and strengthening its finances, *CM*, 4. 456-72.
27 1248.
28 Frederick II besieged Parma 1247-8. He was defeated by papal forces at Victoria, outside Parma, on February 12,1248. On this battle see *Stella,* Intro.,78-7 & lines 904-915. *CM*, 5.14-15 makes no mention of the Virgin's miraculous help. See also Abulafia (1988), 396-400.
29 Another instance of alliteration and the pun *vires / viris.*

At the time when the Holy Father came to Lyon, my Muse was working on this poem in Paris. I add ten times four years to twelve hundred from when the Virgin gave birth, and I add another five. Experts in chronology reckon there are five thousand, two hundred years, less one (5199) from the beginning of the world to when the Virgin gave birth. From that time on, reliable dates are known to all.

The pope invoked papal treaties against those who were dissenting. Bishop William and Peter the Chancellor of the city of Paris attended then went back home and exerted authority over their churches. They brought back holy dogma with them. Learned men placed a curb on the world's evils; if they did not regularly take a grip on them, no one would hold to the path of righteousness.

Three years on the armies of the Cross hastened to the sea from all directions. The city of Parma rejoiced at its citizens overturning Frederick's victory, and routing him with incalculable slaughter. The image of Mary in triumph was carried before the army in the war, and going before them the Virgin gave her strength to the men of Parma. In Paris the consecration of our illustrious king's chapel bore witness to the heavy burden of a recent outpouring of grief, which lasted all day long every day for seventeen years and forty-eight days.

<128> The harbour called Aigues Mortes welcomed Louis' armies, and he moved his fleets from their moorings. The king of the Tartar race is pressing to be reborn in the holy fount; but the French army should beware of deception. French, Germans, Danes, and Englishmen gathered there, and were glad to go to war under so great a leader. The king was unostentatious with his wealth and

30 Louis IX built Sainte Chapelle in1242-8 to house the Crown of Thorns and other relics, purchased in 1239 from Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Byzantium. It was consecrated on 26 April 1248. See also *DTE* 2.65-72 & n.14, 2.549 and n. 133. Lines 90-92 are obscure. The consecration of Sainte Chapelle coincided closely (though the figures do not add up perfectly) with the time interval, seventeen years and fifty-seven days since the disappearance of the Holy Nail (sacre clou) from the Abbey of Saint Denis on 28 February 1231. The nail was rediscovered on 1 April 1232. See Le Goff (2009), 80-82.

31 Horace, Odes, 2.1.37, '*Sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis / Ceae retractes munera neniae.*'

32 Louis IX rebuilt the port of Aigues Mortes in Languedoc as the point of departure for his crusading fleet, and set sail on 28 August, 1248. On Louis' choice of Aigues Mortes, see Jordan (1979), 71-76.

33 A reference to Louis' hope of converting the Mongols, and despatch from Cyprus on 25 January, 1249 of André of Longjumeau to the general, Eljigidei,with a lavish portable altar as a gift. (André returned to Louis in 1251 in Caesarea, with only a provocative message to show for his mission). There had been strong indications from Mongol envoys in Cyprus that the Mongols, including Eljigidei and the Khan, Gűyűk, were sympathetic to Christianity. For a fuller treatment see Jackson (2005), 97-103.

34 Whilst there was a small English contingent, the vast majority of crusaders were French.

Rex in divitiis viridique modestus in evo[35]
Posse suum totum promit amore Crucis.
Hostes Ecclesie nutant formidine cuncti,
Quorum confringit cornua fama ducis.[36]
Historias ego maiores ab origine mundi
Perstrinxi;[37] superest laus sine fine Crucis.
Bellis finitis surgunt nova bella; nec illa
Infinita queo tradere certa stilo.
Pauci Christicole temptant devincere gentes
Innumeras, urbes, castra, venena, dolos.
Ferrea nunc etas in secula terrea transit,
Assiriique ducis monstrat imago pedes.[38]
Transiit unda Noe, venient incendia mundo,[39]
Ignis purgabit hec elementa[40] vorax.
Vos Crucis armigeri, fraudes virusque timete;
Serpentum virus occulit herba virens.
Proditio vigilat fusca sub nube latendo,
Et reticere mihi tutius esse puto.[41]
Dat mihi gaudia Crux mea gloria, Crux mea virtus.[42]
Crux mihi lux, mihi dux, vita, corona, salus.
Heu Crucis armigeros spoliat piratica[43] turba,
Sternit et occidit, precipitatque mari.
Murmura dum[44] vulgi[45] de proditione volutant,
Incertas scelerum ferre timesco manus.[46]
Vatibus insultat elegia! Musa recede,
Musa sile, quoniam sepe nocere soles.
Eusebii sicut testatur pagina, bustum
Continet Ovidis frigida terra Thomi.[47]
<129> Octavo decimo quem Salvatoris ab ortu
Mortis iter tritum fecit inire dolor.
Annos virginee quingentos prolis ab ortu
Vigintique duos littera certa tenet
Rege Theodorico Gothorum, magne Boethi,
Exul et afflictus, iura sequendo peris.[48]
Si nocuit tantis personis inclita Musa

35 Ovid, *Tristia*, 4.10.17, '*viridi tendebat in aevo.*'
36 Ps. 74, 11, '*et omnia cornua impiorum confringam.*'
37 An extravagant claim.
38 Dan. 2, 31-45. Daniel's account of the successive eras, gold, silver, bronze, iron is paralleled by Ovid's description of the ages of man in *Met.* 1.89-150. Nebuchadnezzar's image had feet of clay. John sees the arrival of a new age, worse even than the iron age.
39 Lucan, 1.656, '*toto fluerent incendia mundo.*'
40 '*Hec elementa,*' earth and water.
41 John is probably referring here to the instigators of attacks on the crusading army as it made its way through Avignon, labeled '*proditores,*' '*potionatores*' and '*Albigenses*' by Louis' army, and at Marseilles,

in his youthful prime. He offered his full power through love of the Cross. All the enemies of the Church trembled with dread, their horns shattered by the reputation of this leader.

I have given brief accounts of important historical narratives since the world began. My remaining task is praise without end for the Cross. Whenever wars end, new wars start, and I cannot guarantee to report that infinite number of wars accurately with my pen. A handful of Christians are trying to conquer innumerable peoples, cities, forts, poisons and stratagems. Now the age of iron is changing into the era of clay. The image of the Assyrian king is revealing its feet. Noah made his way through by sea, and infernos will come to the earth, and the devouring fire will purge these elements. You warriors of the Cross, be fearful of deceptions and poisons. The green grass conceals the poison of snakes. Betrayal wakefully lurks in murky mists, and I think it is safer for me to keep quiet. The Cross is my glory and gives me joy, the Cross is my courage. The Cross is a light to me, it is my leader, my life, my cloak, my crown and my salvation.

Alas, a gang of thugs plunders the soldiers of the Cross, lays them low, kills them, and flings them into the sea. While murmurs of betrayal swirl around the soldiery, I grow afraid of writing about hands not proven to have committed crimes. My elegy tramples on the poets of old! Muse, stand back! Muse, fall silent, since you often tend to do me harm. As Eusebius' writings bear witness, the cold land of Tomae holds the tomb of Ovid. <129> Grief led him to make the well-worn journey of death in the eighteenth year after our Lord's birth. Highly reliable writings tell us that five hundred and twenty-two years after our Lord's birth you, great Boethius, died, suffering and in exile, at the hands of Theodoric, king of the Goths, in pursuit of just causes. If the glorious Muse has harmed such great men, I am fearful lest this sad tale harms me.

CM, 5.23-24. Louis left behind significant numbers of troops and knights, who according to Matthew Paris were close to rebelling against him in alliance with the English. John's coyness may be a reluctance to name names associated with this alleged conspiracy.

42 Lines 117-18 have no spondee feet, and are clearly part of rhythmic hymn or chant. '*Crux sancta est mihi lux / Non draco sit mihi dux*' comes from '*Vade retro Satane*,' a Benedictine exorcism prayer.

43 '*Pirate*' can mean '*brigands*' as well as '*pirates*.'

44 '*dum*' is inserted in the MS as a correction for '*de*.'

45 Ovid, *Heroides* 17. 149 '*sensi mala murmura vulgi*.'

46 Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, 1.5.46 '*nec tenet incertas alea blanda manus*.'

47 Die Chronik des Hieronymus (*Heronymi Chronicon)*, ed. R. Helm, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1913), vol. 7.1, p. 171. Eusebius records Ovid's death in AD 17, and says '*diem obit et iuxta oppidum Tomos sepelitur*.' See Trapp (1973), 35-76.

48 Boethius (Anicius Manlius Severinus) was executed on the orders of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, *c.* 524 CE. His influence on the Schools, especially Adelard, was extensive.

49 Read '*vendit*' with MS, not '*vendis*' with Wright, meaning 'betrays.' It is tempting to translate '*princeps*' as 'the emperor,' as the crusaders' journey was through imperial lands, but it seems here to mean

Hec mihi ne noceat nenia mesta tremo.
Heretici Crucis armigeros invadere temptant,
Quos princeps terris, nautaque vendit[49] aquis.
Hospes truncatur dum dormit ab hospite, quosdam
Exscaturit fervens hospitis unda feri.
Quosdam vispilio vita denudat et ere,
Duxque suus perimit vestis amore sue.
In levo dexter non fidit ocellus ocello,
Parte nec in leva fidere dextra potest.
Frivola sed franget veniens de monte lapillus,
Christus compensans premia cuique sua.
Flebilis electis elegia nulla nocebit;
Pro noxis reprobos noxius ignis edet.[50]
Crux erit in celo signum, cum venerit equus
Iudex, cum celum pro Cruce munus erit.
Est celi sine nocte dies,[51] plausus sine planctu,
Absque fame saties, absque labore quies.
Est ibi verus amor sine luxu, pax sine pugna,
Et sine sorde decor, et sine lite favor.
In Cruce gens hodie vincet prece supplice, palmis
Protensis prono vertice, corde pio.
Crux salvatoris est clava triangula summo
Vertice, qua demon ictus ad ima ruit.[52]
Qui duxit Moysen sine nave per equora tutum
Ducet tranquillum per mare signa Crucis.
Papa quasi Moyses orando vincet, et alter
Arma ferens Iosue rex Ludovicus erit.[53]
<130> Sed Crucis armigeris absit fraus tecta, libido
Devia, livor edax[54], mens vaga, fastus hebes.
Post aderit Christi victoria leta, potestas
Ampla, Dei regnum, pax rata, tuta via.
Crux veneranda viam peregrinis iam dedit, undas
Tutius equorias plebs peregrina secat.
Gaude sancta Syon! congaude Francia felix![55]
Vos gaudere Crucis inclita palma iubet.
Nomine, re, Blanca prolis[56] letatur honore,
Gemma pudicitie,[57] regis amena parens.

'immediate superior' rather than 'overall leader.' '*Dux*' in line 140 is translated as 'guide.' John describes graphically the perils soldiers faced from untrustworthy superiors and unreliable boatmen (remembering his own experiences, *DTE,* 6. 201-54).

50 Statius, *Thebaid,* 1.508, '*lacte novo perfusus edet Volcanius ignis.*'

51 '*sine nocte dies,*' Sedulus, *Carmen Paschale,* 2. 229, *PL,*19, col. 625.

52 Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Dunstoni,* 208 '*primus ad ima ruit.*'

Heretics try to attack the soldiers of the Cross, whom their sergeant betrays on land and boatmen on the water. Guests are killed by their hosts while they sleep. Some are scalded by the boiling water of a brutal host, some are robbed by rogues of their lives and their money, and their guide kills them because he covets their clothes. The right hand does not trust the left, nor the right eye the left, nor can the right side trust the left side.

But as a stone rolling down from the mountain will shatter flimsy things, so too does Christ as He weighs out to each his just reward. No sad elegy will cause harm to those who have been chosen, but the dread fire will consume reprobates for their sins. The Cross will be a banner in the sky, when the just judge will come, when Heaven will be the reward for taking the Cross. The day in Heaven is without night, approval comes without complaint, satiety is unmarred by hunger, and rest comes without effort. True love exists there without excess, peace without fighting, propriety without vulgarity, and acclamation without disputes. Today our people will triumph in the Cross, through humble prayer, with hands outstretched, head bowed, and a pious heart. The Cross of the Saviour is a club with three faces, and with a highest point, by which the devil is struck and plunges to the depths. He who led Moses unharmed through the sea without a ship, will lead the legions of the Cross through a calm sea. Like Moses, the pope will triumph through prayer, and King Louis will be a second Joshua bearing arms.

<130> But may the warriors of the Cross avoid hidden deceit, wayward lust, consuming envy, wavering intention, and pride which dulls their edge. Afterwards, Christ's joyous victory will be at hand. The mighty power and kingdom of God will come, together with settled peace and safe passage. The holy Cross has already offered a road to pilgrims, and the pilgrim throng make their way more safely through the waters of the sea. Rejoice holy Jerusalem! Share in her rejoicing, O fortunate France! The glorious victory of the Cross commands you to rejoice. Both through [the meaning of] her name, and in fact, Blanche rejoices in the nobility of her son. She is a jewel of female virtue, and the gracious mother of a king.

53 On the comparison between Louis IX and Joshua, see Gaposchkin (2008). He was also often compared with the biblical king Josiah, see Prologue, n. 21 above.

54 Ovid, *Amores,* 1.15.1.

55 Rubric '*De Damiata capta.*' This is the last rubric in the manuscript. But see n. 123 below. These lines seem to have been written in anticipation of victory. '*Gaude sancta Syon,*' a strand running through the liturgy commemorating the capture of Jerusalem, see Gaposchkin (2017), esp. 263, App. 1.

56 Blanche of Castile. This is an obvious play on her name.

57 '*gemma pudicitie,*' *De Misteriis*, 643, referring to Alexander of Hales. Whilst there is no doubt of Blanche's piety, Wendover, *Flores,* 3.4 and Matthew Paris, *CM,* 3.119 suggest that Blanche had affairs with the legate Romano and Thibault of Champagne. John has no criticism of her.

58 '*robore*' is inserted as a correction above the line in the MS.

59 The infinitive of '*fateor*'; note the rhyme with '*Phari*'. Lines 183-84 are also leonines.

Ride! Flevisti, Ierolsolima. Sta! Iacuisti.
Lude, laborasti! Vive, soluta iugo! [111r]
Letitiam moderare tamen, quia non ita semper
Gratia surridet, sorsque benigna favet.
Anticipare mihi verum licet; aut modo Parthus
Aut post Ecclesie robore[58] victus erit.
Inter leta gemit iustus, lapsumque veretur.
Ridet in adversis, spe comitante fidem.
Niliace gentis lacrimas fideique triumphos
Letos exiguo tradere tempto stilo.
De regione Phari prostrata tot agmina fari[59]
Quis vatum poterit? Vix Maro tantus erit.
Milia Parthorum decies plangunt sua fata;[60]
Pars est illorum strata, fugeque data.
Milia ter decies hiis addita sunt aliorum,
Est urbi quorum flebilis illa dies.
Unus ibi tantum peregrinus fata peregit,[61]
Sic Crucis athletas gratia summa regit.
Verum falsa fugat; ius fraudes amputat, hostes
Legis lex reprobat, fabricat arma fides.
Tristia letitie miscentur,[62] nubila luci,
Damna ioco, paci bella, venena favo.
Te, Machomete, metus invadit, repetit ultrix
Crux, te condemnat, te, scelerate, fugat.[63]
<131> Isis lanifica dea, Lini numen, Osiris,[64]
Diique rudes alii terga dedere Cruci.
Huius signarei 'X'[65] ceciderunt idola quondam,
Dum tulit huc Christum stella serena maris.[66]
Cui disponit opem Deus, illi nulla nocebunt.
Quo victrix palmam fert peregrina phalanx?
Tedia ne faciam sumens exordia longe,
Ordiar a portu fluctivagoque mari.
In mortem Pharie gentis Francos Aqua misit
Mortua, que mortis nomen et omen habet.
'Que gens morte perit?' Incredula. 'Quo duce?' Rege

60 Lines 183-84 and 187-8 are rhyming couplets.
61 Reportedly only one of Louis' soldiers was killed in battle, *CM,* 6 (*Add)*.159. This was Hugh X, Comte de la Marche, see *DTE,* 1, n. 114. If he or a family member was a patron, John would have good reason for the reference. '*Fata peregit,*' Lucan, 4.361, and especially 6.820, where, like Hugh, a corpse is finally allowed to die.
62 Ovid, *Fasti,* 6, 463. '*Miscentur tristia laetis*' / 'Sorrow is mingled with joy.'
63 Read '*scelerate*' for Wright's '*sclerate,*' with MS.

Jerusalem! You have wept, but now smile! You have been laid low, but now stand up! Relax after your travail. Live, freed from the yoke! Yet temper your joy, since grace does not smile like this forever, nor good luck favour you. If I may anticipate the truth, either now or later the Parthians will be defeated by the strength of the Church. Yet the righteous man groans in the midst of joys, and fears a reversal of fortune. He remains cheerful in adversity, with hope a companion to his faith.

I am trying with my flimsy pen to convey the tears of the people of the Nile and the joyous victories of the faith. Who of the ancient poets would be able to describe the destruction of so many armies from the land of the Pharaohs? Vergil will barely suffice. Ten thousand Parthians will bewail their fate; some of them are slaughtered, some routed. There are thirty thousand more in addition to these for whose city this was a day of tears. Only one pilgrim met his fate there — and so the utmost favour governed the athletes of the Cross. The truth puts lies to flight, right prunes away deceits, the law reproaches its enemies, and the faith forges its weapons. Sadness mingles with joy, shadow with light, loss with light-heartedness, war with peace, and poison with honey-comb. Fear grips you, Muhammad. The avenging Cross keeps seeking you out, condemns you, impious one, and puts you to flight.

<131> Isis, worker in wool, the spirit of Linus, and Osiris, and all the other primitive gods turned their backs on the Cross. The standard-bearers of this 'Chi' sign cut down their idols long ago, when the serene Star of the Sea brought Christ there. None of them will harm Him whom God is helping.

Whither is this conquering army of pilgrims carrying its trophies of victory? I shall not delay my readers further by lengthy scene-setting, but launch my account from the harbour and the turbulent sea. It was Aigues Mortes, its name redolent of death and deathly omen, which despatched the French to seek the death of the Egyptian race. 'Which nation met with death?'

64 '*Lanifica*' is unusual, and not elsewhere associated with Isis, though she embodied the domestic virtues. Ovid, *Met,* 6.6, applies it to Arachne. See Lucan, 9.159, '*Evolvam busto iam numen gentibus Isim / Et tectum lino spargam per volgus Osirim.*'

65 The MS contains a Greek 'chi' / 'X', and is followed here. Wright omits. This was the symbol for 'Christ.'

66 This refers to the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt, Matth. 2, 13-20, and the introduction of Christianity there.

67 Read '*amoriferam*' for '*amorifere*' in MS and Wright.

Armigero Christi. 'Quomodo?' Marte fero.
'Si queratur, Ubi?' Damiate. 'Quid Damiata?
Succubuit? Periit?' Non, sed aperta fuit.
Gentis amoriferam[67] Venerem Ciprus insula dudum
Excoluit, Christique modo signa gerit.[68]
Applicat armipotens ibi rex regemque secute
Sunt turme. Turmas aptat ad arma quies.
Rex leo[69] perdomuit Ricardus milite Ciprum,
Remige, quam querit pacifice modo Crux.[70]
Crux modo pacifice querit quam remige Ciprum
Milite Ricardus perdomuit leo rex.[71]
Hic Franci classisque tenax recreantur; habere
Franci ver optant, findere classis aquas.
Strato rex classem pelago committit, ad urbem
Tendit Alexandri;[72] sed negat unda viam.
Non tenet aura fidem; mentitur, murmurat, obstat,
Intumet,[73] iratam percutit ergo Tethim.[74]
Alternant alapas[75] Tethis et ventus; ictu
Vento respondet ebria, ventus ei.
Aër ventosus, pontus furibundus et ignis
Terribilis sevas exeruere[76] minas.
Arthous Boreas Austro plus obstat, at Auster
In Boream surgit huncque sedere iubet.
<132> Urbem postergat[77] Pelleam.[78] 'Cur?' Quia Memphim
Tendit. 'Quid querens?' Huc agitare rates.
In tumulos arat Auster aquas, rabiesque procelle[79]
Sevit. Vela ferit Auster, et unda rates.
Nox tegit atra diem, micat ether fulgure;[80] nimbus
Densatur; nimbo vela virique madent.[81]

68 Aphrodite was believed to have been born in Cyprus, where Paphos was an important site for her worship. Cyprus had been continously Christian, as part of the Byzantine empire, then under Lusignan rule from 1192. See *DTE,* Prologue, 91-92 & n. 33.

69 '*Rex Leo,*' Richard the Lionheart conquered Cyprus en route to the Holy Land in 1191. See *DTE,* 3.119-28 above for John's account.

70 Curtius 4.3.18, '*milite ac remige.*'

71 213-16 are *versus retrogradi,* a palindrome.

72 '*urbem..Alexandri;*' Only John and Matthew Paris maintain that Louis' fleet was heading for Alexandria, rather than Damietta. This seems to derive from the 'letter from Gui in *CM*. 6 (*Add)*.155-62, & 5.139. See Jackson (2007), 87, n. 118, who notes John's reference.

73 A non-classical form. '*Intumescere*' is the usual verb.

74 '*Tethim;*' Tethys was a sea-goddess, wife of Oceanus. Her name was used allegorically to mean 'the sea.'

75 '*alapa*'/ 'box on the ear' was unusual in classical poetry, but well-known from Ioh. 19, 3.

76 '*manus*' is deleted here in the MS.

You wouldn't believe it!
'And under whose leadership?'
The king who bears the arms of Christ.
'And how did they die?'
In vicious fighting.
'If the question were, Where?'
Damietta
'What of Damietta? Did it surrender? Was it destroyed?'
No, it lay wide open.

The island of Cyprus once worshipped Venus, bringer of love to its people, though it now carries the symbols of Christ. The mighty king brought his ships in there, and the military units followed him. The respite prepares them for war. King Richard the Lionheart subdued Cyprus using knights and oarsmen, but now the Cross seeks it out in peace. Now the Cross seeks out Cyprus in peace, which King Richard the Lionheart subdued using knights and oarsmen. Here the French and their steadfast fleet were reinvigorated. The French longed for Spring, the fleet was raring to ply the waves.

Once the sea was calm the king launched the fleet, and set a course to Alexander's city (Alexandria), but the waves denied him passage. The breeze proved unreliable. It deceived, roared, blocked his way. It swelled, and so crashed against Tethys, driven to anger. Tethys and the wind exchanged blows. She would drunkenly strike back at the wind with a blow, and he likewise. The howling blast, and the raging ocean, and the terrifying lightning roared bloodcurdling threats. Boreas from the North pushed back Auster, and Auster blasted Boreas and bade him subside.

<132> Auster left the Pellaean city behind.
'Why?'
Because he was blowing towards Memphis.
'With what aim in mind?'
To drive the ships there.

Auster ploughed the waters into burial mounds, and the wild storm raged. The South wind blasted the sails, and the waves crashed into the ships. Dark night enveloped the day, the sky flashed with lightning, the storm clouds massed, and both sails and men were soaked by the rain-clouds.

77 A non-classical word, used here for the first time as far as I can ascertain.
78 *'urbem Pelleam,'* Alexandria.
79 Seneca, *In Phoenissas,* 1.43, *'Perfurit motae rabies procellae.'*
80 Vergil, *Aen.* 1.89-90, *'ponto nox incubat atra, / intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether.'*
81 Ovid, *Met.,* 11.519, *'vela madent nimbis.'*

Mors mare non metuit, quia morte natatile quidque
Deficit, et morti subiacet omnis homo.
Formidare viros facit aër turbine, rupes
Occursu, pontus fluctibus, igne polus.
Dum proponit homo, disponens gratia celi
Prospera post lacrimas prosperiora facit.
Cum turres altas Damiate navita cernit,
Divino nutu ventus et aura[82] silent.
Inconcussa fides, spes ardua, Crux veneranda
Salvat, fert, sedat, corpora, vota, mare.[83]
Consiliis initis properant quicumque balistas
Portant ut faciant previa tela viam.
Francia si fallit regem, nec Secana[84] pisces,
Nec lucus frondes, nec polus astra gerit.
Sed si sic quidam fidei virtute stetissent,
Sub Parthis iterum non Damiata foret.[85]
Pila volant plura vernali grandine, mortem
Incutiens crebro missa sagitta rubet.
In ponto pugnant primo, ducuntque galeas;
Induti galeas stant, animantque suos.[86]
Cedunt innumeros pauci, membrisque gigantes
Parvi, terribiles voce, caterva decens.
Hic pedes, hic et eques; pedites equitesque relidunt.
Sternunt quadrupedes precipitantque viros.
Obruit hos sonipes, illos ferrum premit, istos
Unda vorat. Moriens hic gemit, ille tacet.
Regis ad exemplum,[87] pelago se cetera turba
Committit; pugnat hic in aquis et equis.
<133> Dum pretemptat aquas princeps, phalerantur equorum
Terga, resistit eques qui stetit ante pedes.
Montes et valles resonant clangore tubarum[88]
Neptuni surda terror in aure strepit.
Viscera rimantur gladii, cerebella secures,
Guttura cultelli, pectoris hasta viam.
Sanguinis unda globos et densa cadavera[89] ponto
Infert, et mixtas pugna rubricat aquas.
In Casios[90] conversa duces est maxima strages
Et Lagea metit agmina Franca manus. [111v]

82 '*unda*' appears in MS as palimpsest in a different hand above '*aura,*' and is the reading favoured by Wright. See however Ovid, *Amores,* 1.106, '*nec tulerint voces ventus et aura meas.*' '*Aura*' is not deleted in the MS, and is retained here.

83 A contrived grammatical structure, with three consecutive subjects, verbs and objects.

84 '*Secana,*' more commonly '*Sequana.*'

Death does not fear the sea, since all swimming things fail through death, and every man sits close to death. The air through a whirlwind, the rocks because they were crashing against them, the sea because of the huge waves, and the sky through lightning, all filled the men with dread. While men paint a mental picture, the grace of Heaven makes happy results look even more favourable after tears have been shed. When the sailors caught sight of the tall towers of Damietta, the wind and the air fell silent at a nod from God. Unbroken faith, high hopes, and the holy Cross kept their bodies safe, conveyed their prayers, and calmed the sea.

Setting about their plans, those who were carrying the catapults made haste to open up the way with a volley of missiles. If France let its king down, there are no fish in the Seine, no leaves in a grove, and no stars in the sky. Yet if certain men had stood firm in like fashion in the strength of their faith, Damietta would not once more have been in Parthian hands.

More spears flew than the spring hail, showers of arrows struck with deathly impact, and flowed with red blood. They first fought in the sea, and drew up the galleys; then clad in helmets they stood firm, and inspired their men. Those few killed innumerable men; small men, terrifying by their battle-cries, a fine force, slew men with gigantic limbs. There were infantry on one side, cavalry as well on the other. Infantry and cavalry struck back at each other. They cut down the horses, and sent the men headlong. War-horses charged into some, iron hacked at others, some the sea sucked in; one dies with a groan, another silently. Following the king's example the rest of the force committed itself to the sea. He fought in the water amongst the horses. <133> The king was first into the water. The sergeants tested the water and horses' backs were hung with jangling armour, and the knights faced the enemy on foot in front of their horses. The peaks and troughs (of the waves) resounded with the blare of trumpets, and a terrifying roar resounded in Neptune's deafened ears. Swords punctured flesh, and axes hacked out brains, knives cut throats and spears drove their way into chests. The waves washed pools of blood and a mass of corpses out to sea, and the battle reddened the sea already mingled with blood. The main onslaught was

85 John appears indirectly to be blaming Robert of Artois for the defeat at Mansourah and the subsequent loss of Damietta.

86 '*galeas*' … '*galeas,*' A play on the medieval meaning 'galleys' and the classical 'helmets.'

87 '*Regis ad exemplum,*' Claudian, *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti,* 300.

88 Lucan, 4.750, '*Quippe ubi non sonipes motus clangore tubarum.*'

89 Juvenal, *Sat,* 10.186, '*ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.*'

90 '*Casios.*' Mount Casius was a mountain between Lower Egypt and Arabia, close to the scene of Pompey's death (Lucan, 10.434 & 8.539). Wright , in his note on p. 165, sees this as 'a not very intelligible metaphor from the game of chess.' More likely it is a poetic use meaning no more than 'Egyptian,' like '*Lagea.*' Lines 273-74, however, do present a metaphor from chess, elegantly translated by Rigg, 'The king (called rook) is felled, the city's first in check and mated too-the knights and pawns are lost,' Rigg (1992), 175.

Rex dictus Rocus cadit, 'eschec' dicitur urbi
'Math'que, simul peditum vis equitumque perit.
Tres admiralii[91] linquunt in litore vitam,
Clamantes frustra, 'Nos Machomete iuva!'
Ut Juvenalis[92] ait, porros cepasque per agros
Quos habuere cibos, hos habuere deos.
Submerso Pharaone mari, quod tempore tristi
Fecerat Egyptus numen, habebat opus.[93]
Innumerum[94] vulgus fugiens occumbit in undis
Et campis; quosdam Memphis aperta capit.
Ad terram vexilla Crucis properare videres
Castraque defigi, letitiamque sequi.
Palma venit velox. Diversos litore tacto
Exponit populos plurima classis ibi.
Memphios est tota dolor ergo tantus in urbe,
Urbem quod metuit gens retinere suam.
Cives terrentur populari funere, portu
Amisso, captis finibus hoste fero.
Consuluere[95] fuge, linquunt caligine noctis[96]
Divitias, carnes, faria, phalerna, thoros.
Crastina lux[97] regi Francorum liberat urbem
Dum deserta patet, dum vacuata viris.[98]
Victores caveant ne per sua crimina perdant
Ditia dona Dei tempore parta brevi.
<134> In Pentecostes octava luce subintrat[99]
Crux urbem, residet victor in urbe sua.
Expectat refluos autumni tempore fluxus
Nili, qui septem brachia solus habet.
Temperat hic calidam terram, fecundat[100] et illam
Ex fluviis vivis, O Paradise, tuis.[101]
Philosophi perhibent, Cillenius[102] exorit illum
Dum sol in Cancro dumque Leone meat.
Se retrahit cum Libra pares equaverit[103] horas,
Cum minor est fervor quem moderatur hiems.

91 'Emirs.'
92 Juvenal, *Sat.* 15, 8-9, '*oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam, / porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.*'
93 John endows the Egyptian commander with the divinity of pharaohs in the pre-Roman period.
94 '*Innumerum*' for Wright's '*Innumeri,*' with the grammar. Both readings are possible.
95 Read '*Consuluere*' with MS, for Wright's '*consuluete.*'
96 Prov. 7, 9, '*in obscuro advesperascente die in noctis tenebris et caligine.*'
97 Vergil, *Aen.* 10.244, '*Crastina lux … … ..ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos.*' See also *DTE*, 6.215.

on the Egyptian leaders, and the French army mowed down the Egyptian lines. The king called Rook fell, the city was declared 'in check', and 'check mate,' as the force of foot-soldier pawns and knights collapsed at the same moment. Three emirs abandoned life on the shore, calling in vain, 'Muhammad, come to our aid!' As Juvenal says, 'They treated as gods the leeks and onions which they had in the field as food.' The Pharaoh was floundering in the sea, and because Egypt had made him a god in that time of sadness, it stood in need of him. The fleeing crowd perished in huge numbers amidst the waves and in the fields, and some found refuge in Memphis, which lay open.

You should have seen the forces of the Cross hastening to land and a camp being built, and the joy that ensued. Victory came swiftly. Once the huge fleet touched shore, it disembarked people of the various nations there and then. That is why there was such great misery in the whole city of Memphis, because its population were afraid to defend their own city. Its citizens were terrified by the deaths of their fellow-countrymen, the loss of their port, and the capture of their territory by a fierce enemy. They decided to flee. In the darkness of night they left behind their riches, their meat, their grain, their jewellery, and their beds. The next day's dawn delivered the city to the king of the French, while it lay open, deserted and emptied of men. Let the victors beware of losing through their own sins the rich gifts of God, acquired in that short time.

<134>The Cross entered the city on the eighth day of Pentecost and the victor lingered in the city which was now his. It was the autumn season, and the king was waiting for the flood-waters of the Nile to subside. The Nile, uniquely, has seven branches. It cools the hot land, and makes it fruitful, from your flowing rivers, O Paradise. The philosophers say that Mercury draws out the Nile while the sun passes through Cancer and Leo. Then the Nile retreats, when Libra has made the hours [of day and night] equal, and the heat is less, under the restraining influence of winter.

98 See n. 72 above. The 'letter from Gui' also uses the word '*vacuata*' to describe the desertion of Damietta.

99 6 June, 1249.

100 Read '*fecundat*' for '*fecundet*' in text and Wright.

101 in the medieval world view, the Nile, under the name of 'Gihon,' was one of the four rivers with their source in Paradise, Gen. 2, 13. The others were the Tigris, Euphrates and Pishon. See *EBVM,* 7.157-70.

102 '*Cillenius,*' Mercury.

103 Read '*aequaverit*' with MS for Wright's '*aequaliter horas.*'

Rex est incolumnis, et tota domestica turba.
Et fratres regis prosperitate vigent,
Robertus comes Attrebati, Provincia paret
Cui domino Karolus tecta cedrina tenent.[104]
In regum vasis ibi fulget iaspis, achates,
Unio, saphirus, crisolitique decor.
Fratribus Alphonsus properat succurrere; linquit
Pictaviam, ducit per mare robur, opes.[105]
Gulielmus Longus Ensis qui dicitur exit
Anglorum fines et petit ense Pharon.[106]
O fratres, generosa manus, caveatis in armis
Vobis et vestris.[107] Fraus latet ante pedes,
Fraus ancilla necis quam abhorreo dicere vobis
Occultat laqueos,[108] insidiasque suas.
Stet nisi vester honor, letabitur impius; alget
In multis[109] hodie mortificata fides. [112r]
Mille ducentenis coniungo decem quater annos
Virginis a partu, connumeroque novem.
In quinquageno sors flebilis accidit anno,
Tristia sed redimet tempora leta dies.
Tempore meroris monstro solacia mestis;
Observare decet pectora mesta modum.[110]
Quid dicat vel agat hominis mens ceca futuri?[111]
Nescit, que modico sole vel imbre stupet.
<135> Sirenes cantant, ludunt, gaudentque procellis,
Languent in claro, flentque gremuntque freto.
Sunt epiteta[112] Crucis cruciatus, pugna, triumphus
Mens robusta, fides firma, perenne decus.[113]
Dum sumit mens munda Crucem, Crux promovet actum,
Actus dat palmam, palmaque dona capit.
Que nos impugnant species sunt mille reatus,[114]
Mille tamen vincit mistica pugna Crucis.
Assunt Fortune ludibria,[115] que levat illos,
Hos premit, illecebras donat, easque rapit.
Donatam revocat Damiatam, reddit inermes
Soldanos, rursus munit et armat eos.

104 Wright's punctuation is revised, to follow the grammar and sense.
105 The king's brother Alphonse of Poitou followed later with substantial reinforcements, including Hugh X de Lusignan, sailing on 24 June and joining the king in Damietta on 24 October 1249, Layettes, 5, 177-78.
106 For his departure from England with other knights, see *CM,* 5.130-31. John refers to William Longespée II's valour at *DTE* 3.459-60 & 8.351-54.
107 *'vobis et vestris,'* RH, 62.

The king was safe and sound, and so was the whole throng of his household. His brothers flourished in their success. Robert, Count of Artois, and Charles, whom Provence obeys as its lord, occupied houses of cedar-wood. There, in the baggage of the royal family, gleamed jasper, agate, large pearls, sapphire and the beauty of topaz. Alphonse hurried to bring support to his brothers, leaving Poitiers behind, and bringing prime troops and treasure by sea. William, who was called Longsword, left English territory behind, and sought out the Pharaoh with his sword. Brothers, you noble band, be on your guard in battle for yourselves and those close to you. Treachery lurks ahead of your footsteps, treachery, handmaiden of slaughter—and I shrink from telling you this—is hiding its nooses and ambushes. If your honour were not to stand firm, the unrighteous will exult. Nowadays, the faith has died and is growing cold among many.

To twelve hundred years from the day the Virgin gave birth, I add four times ten years and another nine. In the fiftieth year a lamentable blow of fate occurred, though a joyful day will redeem these sad times. At a time of grief, I hold out solace for the grieving. Grieving breasts should acknowledge some limit to their grief. The mind of man does not know what to say or do if it is blind to the future, and numbed by a touch of sun or a shower of rain.

<135> The sirens sing, frolic and rejoice in storms, but lie idle when the weather is fine, and weep and groan in narrow channels. The defining characteristics of the Cross are torment, battle and triumph, a strong mind, firm faith and unfailing virtue. So long as a well-ordered mind takes up the Cross, the Cross drives the deed, the deed brings victory, and victory wins rewards. Guilt assails us in a thousand forms, but the mystical fight of the Cross overcomes every one of them. The mockeries of Fortune are around us –Fortune, which lifts up some men, and pushes others down, gives enticements, and snatches them away. Having given Damietta, Fortune took it back. She rendered the sultans defenceless, then strengthened and re-armed them.

108 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Quadragesima Habiti*, 3.
109 'Wright's '*multis*' is preferred, though '*inultis*' would also be a possible reading.
110 John writes in the present tense as the shock and grief of Louis' defeat in Egypt was still raw. See *DTE.* 64-65 on the impossibility of curbing grief.
111 Lucan, 2.14-15, '*sit caeca futuri/ mens hominum fati.*'
112 *C.G.*, 3.145, '*Est epiteton, ubi dicenda notatio restat.*'
113 Venantius Fortunatus, *Poemata,* 7, 6, '*et sit mercis odor flore perenne decus.*'
114 Ovid, *Rem.,* 526, '*Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt.*'
115 Cicero, *Parad.*, 9, '*ludibria fortunae.*'

Cur, Deus, pateris succumbere iustos?
Iustus es, et iustis das tua regna viris.
Sub dubio verum non queres, lex quia certa
Est tua; tu rectum cernis, et equa facis.
Si vincunt, vel si vincuntur, premia sumunt
Augmento fidei, martirioque sacro.
Martirio proceres transmisit Francia felix
Ad celum; celi rex locupletat eos.
Robertus comes Attrebati, Guillelmus ab ense
Longo nomen habens enituere probi.[116]
Ensiferum circa Guillermum sanguis inundat.
Purpurat et capitum copia densa solum.
Truncat Oliverus de Termis,[117] mittit et orcho
Parthorum cuneos quos ferit, urget, agit.
Dedecus Ecclesie regisque silere decebit,
Qui mala pro Domino sub pede cuncta premit.[118]
Si gentes gladiis, si gazas igne pelasgo
Perdidit, in donum gaudet habere Deum.
Ordo duplex alba cruce pugnax et cruce rubra[119]
Assyrios mittit ad stigiale chaos.
Pugnaces alii celi meruere coronam
Crux quibus electis celica clavis[120] erat.
<136> Spes erecta, fides stabilis, dilectio vera.[121]
Hec tria sunt validis palma vigorque viris.
Bello sunt strati quidam super astra levati,
Infortunati nil meruere pati.
Tempore iudicii de pulvere corpora surgent,
Quando bonis dabitur gloria, pena malis.
Dum sol irradiat Pisces, hiememque relegat,
Et florum pingit tegmine prata novo, [112v]
Conflictus fuerant ad carniprivia sevi
Ut se privaret carne beata cohors.[122]
Desertum Babilon fuga fortes deicit, estu,[123]
Desertum Babilon agmina fraude, fuga.
Quid gaudes,[124] soldane miser? Letabere parvo
Tempore, subsequitur ultio larga Dei.

116 See n. 106 above.

117 Olivier de Termes was a southern lord who had resisted French rule in the Languedoc, and was reconciled to Louis and the Church only in 1247. He stayed on in the Holy Land with Louis after his defeat and imprisonment. Matthew Paris wrongly reported his death at Damietta, *CM,* 5.165.

118 Ovid, *Rem.,* 530, '*et tua saevus Amor sub pede colla premit.*'

119 A reference to the white and red crosses of the Hospitallers and Templars respectively, a piquant reminder of the massive casualties they suffered at La Forbie (1244).

Why, O God, do you allow righteous men to surrender? You are righteous, and you give your kingdoms to righteous men. You will not seek out the truth under any doubt; because your law is fixed, you perceive what is right, and you do just deeds. Whether they are victorious or are defeated, the righteous acquire rewards, through growth in their faith, and through holy martyrdom. Lucky France sent her leading men to Heaven by martyrdom, and the king of Heaven enriches them. Robert, Count of Artois and William, named after his long sword, shone out as men of integrity. Blood cascaded around William, sword in hand. A thick mass of heads turned the earth purple.

Olivier de Termes lay about him and sent the battalions of the Parthians to hell, striking, driving, pressing them hard. It will be appropriate to pass over in silence the disgrace to the Church and the king, a man who stamped on everything evil in the name of the Lord. If he laid waste to the foreign races by the sword, or to their treasure through Greek fire, Louis rejoiced that God had this as a gift.

The double line [of Hospitallers and Templars], warlike with white crosses and red, despatched the Assyrians to the chaos of hell. The other fighters earned the Heavenly crown, for whom, as God's chosen ones, the Cross was the key to Heaven**.** <136> Aspirational hope, solid faith, and true love. These three are the foundation of victory and energy for men who are strong. Some who are laid low in war are raised above the stars; bereft of luck, they have not merited suffering. At the time of judgment their bodies will rise from the dust, when glory is accorded to good men, and the wicked pay the penalty.

While the sun was casting its light on Pisces, leaving winter behind, and painting the meadows with a fresh covering of flowers, there had been vicious fighting around Shrovetide, which meant that the army of the blessed deprived themselves of meat. Babylon, deserted, deceived those brave men by retreat through the heat. Deserted,

120 Read '*clavis*' with MS, not '*clarus*' with Wright. Augustine, *Enarratio in psalmum XLV*, 20, '*Crux Domini nostri clavis fuit.*'

121 Hope, faith and charity. '*Spes,*' '*fides*' and '*dilectio*' were frequently linked, e.g. Tertullian, *De Patientia*, 12.8.

122 Deprivation of meat ahead of the Lenten fast undermined morale.

123 John seems to be using this clumsy construction to emphasise that the French were twice misled by Egyptian withdrawal, first from Damietta, then Mansourah.

124 Ovid, *Her,* 21.114, '*Improbe, quid gaudes*?'

Assyrios, Medos, Arabes necat, exsecat, arcet[125]
Plebs, miles, princeps, arcubus, ense, metu.[126]
Parthos connumera, stragem discerne, iacentes
Plange, tuos sepeli si sepelire potes.
Si verbo Domini sua laxat retia Petrus,[127]
Et magnos pisces pisciculosque trahit,
Naufragus ad portum defertur, pervenerit exul
Ad patriam, mundum linquit initque polum.
Claudunt septa gregem, granum granaria, messem
Horrea, cella favum, mistica vina penus.
Victrix Ecclesia regnat super astra triumphans,
Militis Ecclesie dum nova dona capit.[128]
Parthos irretit mendica cupido, rapine
Affectus, belli causa, cruoris amor.
Affectant igitur nostras invadere terras,
Dextera sed tantam destruat ampla sitim.
Cuncta Deus donans compensat munere laudes,
Sed pro laude nihil donat avara manus;[129]
Fedat avaritia multos, excludit amicum
Cognatumque fugat, evacuatque fidem.[130]
<137> Hostes pacificat largus, capit oppida, reges
Suppeditat, vulgus allicit, auget opes.
Convenit ut dicam casus expressius istos
Qui circa primi tempora veris erant.
Nondum Massoram[131] pervenit turmula Christi,[132]
Et nondum Thaneos illa bibebat aquas.[133]
In fluvio Thaneos Christus mirabile fecit
Et campo, victor dum Ludovicus erat.
Rex soldanus obit; succedit filius eius,[134]
Et crucesignatis obvia signa gerit.
Per terram Parthi pereunt, per flumina Nili.
Dum Robertus ibi robore pandit iter,
Ad fluvium Thaneos divina potentia fecit

125 What looks like the cryptic phrase '*fuista singlier*' appears in the left margin opposite line 379.
126 In this elaborate construction, the objects and verbs apply to all three subjects. '*Princeps*' is translated as 'sergeant.'
127 '*Laxat retia Petrus,*' Augustine, *Sermo* 59.2. Here John appears to be saying that once the Muslims have been converted, the crusaders can go home and eventually to heaven.
128 The Church benefits from the victories of the crusaders.
129 '*caseus est sanus quem dat avara manus,*' 'Cheese is healthy if given by a sparing hand,' Montanaro (2010), 16, 'an aphorism attributed to the Salerno school of medicine became almost a platitude in medieval medical literature, and soon after attained the status of a proverb.' Here, John seems to be taking another shot at the parsimony of a noble patron, whom he has praised.
130 Rom. 3, 3. '*fidem Dei evacuabit.*' John is taking aim at those who did not support the crusade.

Babylon, send your armies into feigned retreat. Why are you gloating, wretched sultan? Your joy will be short-lived, and God's massive retribution follows closely. The people, the knights and the sergeants kill and hack and box in your Assyrians, Medes and Arabs, with bows, by the sword and through fear. Take stock of your Parthians, set aside slaughter, mourn those who lie dead, bury your dead if you have the opportunity.

If Peter spreads wide his net at the word of the Lord, and draws in both large and small fishes, the shipwrecked sailor finds his way to port, the exile returns to his homeland, leaves the earthly world and goes to Heaven. Folds enclose the flock, granaries store grain, the harvest is kept in barns, and the cells of bees hold in the honeycomb, while the store-room guards the mysteries of the vine. The victorious Church rules high above the stars in triumph, as it takes possession of the new gifts of the knights of the Church. Deceitful lust, addiction to pillage, false grounds for war, bloodlust ensnare the Parthians. That is why they strive to invade our lands; but may [God's] mighty right hand overwhelm such great covetousness. All-giving God gives recompense through gifts for the praises he receives, but a grasping hand gives nothing back in exchange for praise. Greed taints many, it drives away friends, makes kinsmen recoil, and sucks out the faith. <137> A generous hand pacifies enemies, wins over towns, provides support for kings, attracts the people and boosts its own resources.

I should speak more specifically about those fateful events which took place around the beginning of spring. Christ's battalion had not yet reached Mansourah, nor was it yet drinking the waters of the [River] Tanais. Christ worked a miracle in the river Tanais and on the battlefield while Louis was victorious. The royal sultan died, and his son succeeded him, and brought his army to encounter the crusaders. The Parthians died all over the land and in the waters of the Nile, while Robert

131 Mansourah.

132 *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi,* 23.4, '*Hinc turmula Christicolarum.*' '*Turmula*' emphasises the Christians' alleged numerical inferiority.

133 '*Thaneos*' / 'Tanais.'

134 The Sultan al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub ibn al-Malik al-Kamil (Ayyub) died on 22 November 1249. He was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Muazzam Ghiyath al-Din Shah (Turan Shah), who arrived in Mansourah from Aleppo on 25 February 1250. Ayyub's death was concealed until Turan Shah arrived some time after the battle, though it seems that the French had this intelligence before the battle of Mansourah. Egyptian tactics were engineered by the emir Fakhr-al-Din, who died before the Egyptians secured victory.

Quod rex adversas exsuperavit aquas,
Quod stratam fecit, quod Sarracenica castra
Dirruit, et multo sanguine tinxit aquam;
Sepe quod insultans victor stetit et retrocedens,
Et quod spem valido corpore, corde tulit,
Massore periit nimis audax turba, relicto
Templi[135] consilio, velle secuta suum.
Tempore transfluxo dum sol illustrat Aprilem,
Providet ad pacem turma venire Crucis.[136]
Tot bellis habitis Sarracenisque peremptis
Fessa sedet sacro fonte renata phalanx.
Soldanus tamen ante petit sibi menia reddi
Memphios et damnis consona dona suis.
Pacis condicio est signata, sed inter agendum
Soldanus propria gente peremptus obit.[137]
Hunc admirati magnates nomine dicti
Post cenam perimunt, Christicolasque premunt.
Condicio pacis tamen est iterata, relinquat
Ut terram captam martia turma Crucis.
Milia centena nummos bis quater auro
Ex puro pretium condicionis erat,[138]
<138> Sic ut Christicole salventur, resque, piique
Captivi, quorum copia multa fuit.
Pugna, fames, pestis, multos rapuere fideles
Sed Deus hiis finem fecit adesse malis.
Nam sicut dixi, gemini periere tiranni,[139]
Et rex sub certo federe salvus abit.
Fraus inimica tamen Parthorum federa fregit,
Firmam Francorum rege tenente fidem.
Rex medium pretii soluit, sed fraude reperta
Consilio turme nil dedit inde sue.[140]
Larga manus regis[141] vitam preponderat auro,
Non aurum vite sicut avara manus.
Quas admirati treugas statuere tenendas
Cum sacramentis non tenuere suis.
Reddendos ad martirium deducere certant,
Non metuunt validi quod tolerare viri.

135 For Robert of Artois' dispute with the Master of the Temple, see Rothelin, 64 and *CM*, 5.149-51. Joinville, 218-19 confirms this dispute. John, in line with the king's letter to the French people of August, 1250, Du Chesne, 5, 428-32, trans. Jackson (2006), 108-14, contrives not to blame Robert explicitly for the disaster.

136 Read '*turma*' with MS, not '*turba*' with Wright. Louis IX's armies were blockaded and heavily defeated as they tried to retreat to Damietta. Louis and his two brothers were captured. A truce was concluded

extended his advance there through military might. At the river Tanais, the divine power caused the king to cross the waters facing him; to build a causeway and sack the Saracens' camp; to stain the water with much blood. Because, victorious, he [Robert] frequently halted, exulting in victory even as he was withdrawing, and because he carried hope in his powerful body and spirit, his army was over-confident at Mansourah, and was wiped out, abandoning the advice of the Temple and following its own will.

As time passed and the sun brightened up April, the army of the Cross looked to reaching peace terms. After so many wars and having killed so many Saracens, the army was weary, and stayed put, re-invigorated by the sacred spring. But the sultan first sought to get the fortifications of Memphis returned to him, and concessions to compensate for his losses. Peace terms were signed, but the Sultan was killed by his own people while the process was taking place. Highly placed men called Emirs murdered him after dinner, and put the Christians under pressure. The peace condition was however renewed, that the warlike army of the Cross should give up the territory they had captured. The price of the deal was eight hundred thousand [bezants] of pure gold, on the basis that <138> the lives of the Christians, their belongings, and the devout captives, of whom there was a great number, should be safeguarded. The fighting, starvation, and disease took the lives of many of the faithful, but God imposed an end on their sufferings. For as I have reported, two tyrants met their deaths, and the king emerged safe under a guaranteed treaty. Malicious deceit on the Parthian side caused the treaty to be broken, while the king of the French kept his faith. The king paid half the ransom, but having discovered the Egyptians' lack of good faith, gave no more, on the advice of his army. The generous hand of the king placed a higher value on life than on gold, unlike the hand of a covetous man which rates gold more valuable than life. The emirs did not keep the terms of the truce which they had decided under oath to respect. They strove to bring to martyrdom the men who were to be handed back, which brave men are not afraid to endure. But these wretches,

on 1 May, entailing the mutual release of prisoners, payment of reparations by the French, surrender of Damietta and retention of its territory in the Holy Land by the kingdom of Jerusalem.

137 Before the truce could be signed, Turan Shah was murdered by Mameluk soldiers, see Humphreys (1977), 302-03. It was renewed on 6 May by the emirs who collectively assumed power. Louis was released, along with other prominent prisoners, and withdrew to Acre.

138 This figure of 800,000 'Saracen bezants' is confirmed by the king's letter. 400,000 were paid to Turan Shah, but the emirs reneged on the agreement to release all prisoners. Some were ill-treated and killed and many not released until mid-1251. The outstanding half of the ransom was never paid. Other sources refer to 1mn. silver marks as the ransom amount.

139 i.e. Ayyub and Turan Shah.

140 John is careful not to blame Louis for reneging on payment.

141 See 395-96 and n. 129 above.

Sed miseri mortis formidine munera vite
Mortifere capiunt servitiique iugum.
Sunt Saraceni fallaces, fraudeque pleni,
Expertes veri, demonioque feri.[142]
Probra serunt, spernuntque Crucem, calcantque verenda
Signa Dei, cuius in sacra scuta spuunt.
Hec facit invidie stimulus,[143] quia parvula Christi
Turmula tot reprobos ensis agone domat.[144]
Christicole pereunt Damiate, resque negate[145]
Sunt regi contra iura statuta palam.
Surgit Halcupensis soldanus, iamque Damascum
Et plures urbes subiugat ense sibi.
Hic interfecti soldani regna cruore
Purpurat et nobis posse nocere studet[146]
Hoc poterit forsan prodesse, quod ipse potentes
Destruet Egypti, perfidieque duces.
Cum quibus hic tandem Machometi tendet[147] ad umbras,
Infernique ducis carcere clausus erit.
<139> Sacram tellurem quam polluit ipse relinquet
Et dabitur tellus libera tota Cruci.
Constantis fidei Ludovicum salvat honestas,
Et vivit meritis maxima turba suis.
In celo terraque probi vixere per illum.
Sors mundi quamvis aspera pressit eos.
In celos messem Christi messoria[148] misit.
Massoram sed eam fama sonora refert.
Massa mali format Massoram, villula vilis
Sit licet hec, facinus omne maligna facit.[149] [113v]
Quod nos deficimus faciunt contagia culpe;
Victorem virtus ad fera bella facit.
Nemo negare Deum sic aut sic cogitet unquam;[150]
Corporis ac anime mors erit iste furor.[151]

142 Note the internal rhyme.
143 '*invidie stimulus,*' John of Salisbury, *De Dogmate Philosophorum*, 1719.
144 On the size of the crusading force, see Introduction, Ch. 9, 88 & n. 5.
145 See the king's letter (n. 135 above).
146 John refers again to Louis' letter, on the seizure of Damascus in July 1250 by the Ayubbid sultan of Aleppo, al-Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf. Al-Nasir invaded Egypt unsuccessfully in January 1251. Louis was eventually forced to offer support to Egypt against him to secure the release of the remaining prisoners. War continued inconclusively between Syrian and Egyptian forces until 1253, Humphreys (1977), 321-23. See also lines 517-28 & n. 165 below.
147 The MS makes this correction to the future tense by amending '*tendit.*'

in dread anticipation of death, received as their rewards a living death and the yoke of slavery. The Saracens are false, full of deceit, with no truth in them, driven mad by their demon-god. They commit disgraceful acts, despise the Cross, and trample on God's banners, which should be revered, and they spit on his holy shields. It is the goad of envy which drives them to it, because the tiny army of Christ subdued so many wicked men in a contest of the sword. The Christians died at Damietta, and the king was denied his possessions, contrary to his rights which had been publicly determined.

The sultan of Aleppo is on the ascendant, and with his sword is already bringing under his power Damascus and many other cities. He tinged his realms with the blood of the murdered sultan, and is striving for the capability to inflict damage on us. This could perhaps help us, since he will himself get rid of the powerful men in Egypt, and the leaders of treachery. But he will finally find his way with them to the darkness of Muhammad, and will be locked away in the dungeon of the lord of hell. <139> He will abandon the Holy Land which he himself has tainted, and the whole Land will be free and offered up to the Cross.

Louis' reputation for unwavering faith saved him, and the greater part of the army is alive through his worthy actions. Thanks to him, they have lived upright lives in Heaven and on earth, however harshly the fate of this world has weighed them down.

The reap-reeve (*'messoria'*) sent Christ's harvest to the Heavens. But the sound of his name gets passed on as 'Mansourah' [John spells this '*Massora*']. 'Mansourah' gets its name from a 'mass of evil', and though it is a scabrous hole of a village, it was malevolent and responsible for the whole criminal outrage. It is the contagion of guilt which caused our side to fail; it is virtue that creates the victor in the ferocity of war. Let no-one in any circumstances ever think to deny God. That is madness, which will bring death to body and spirit.

148 *'messoria'*, reap-reeve, responsible for the harvest.

149 This is an etymological double entendre. '*Massora*' looks like a derivation from '*massa*' / 'lump, mass.' '*Malum*' means 'evil' and 'apple wood.' '*Maligna*' means both 'ill-intentioned,' but can also be construed as 'bad wood.'

150 Abelard's recommended method for arriving at the truth was known as '*Sic et non*' / 'is it so or not?' '*sic aut sic*' means that only the answer 'yes' is possible.

151 Apostasism was a serious risk, as Christians asked how God could allow Louis' army to be defeated. See lines 342-43 above, *CM,* 5.169-70, 254, 332, and other sources listed in Jackson (2007), 176-77.

152 Read '*anxiam*' with MS, not '*anxia*' with Wright.

O dolor, O plus quam dolor, O mors, anxiam[152] per quam
Cum lacrimis elegos iusta querela movet.
Conveniens metro titulus bene consonat altis
Planctibus.[153] Extimui non tamen ista mala,
Quod rex deficeret, quod ius descenderet et quod
Opprimeret Babilon inclita signa Crucis.
Non sic celestis ratio determinat, archam
A reprobis modico tempore passa capi.[154]
Goliam pastor vicit puer; a Babilonis
Israel exeruit libera colla iugo.
Ecclesie vires auget rex Anglicus[155] et rex
Hispanus;[156] robur undique turma novat.
Deposcunt alios illorum gesta poetas,[157]
Qui quando tempus venerit illa canant.
Dante Deo vivit rex per miracula sanus.
Bello que cepit menia pace dedit.
Est talis iactura levis; fortuna movebit
Iustitie causas, rex quibus ultor erit.
Muris munivit pulso procul hoste refertam[158]
Urbem Cesaream milite, farre, mero.
<140> Mos est in bellis post lapsum surgere, vires
Sumere, victorem strage domare nova.
Hiis compensavit adversis gratia celi
Plurima Parthorum colla subacta ducum.[159]
Hos invadentes peregrinum martia castrum
Turma Crucis cepit, supposuitque iugo.[160]
Tutius esse mori reor in Cruce, quam diuturne
Vivere peccandi sic quia causa perit.
Vivat turma tamen Crucis, ut conversa sit exlex[161]
Natio; converti si neget, ense cadit.
Tartarei[162] perimunt se, rege iubente; sed idem

153 John is justifying his up-beat title of '*De triumphis Ecclesiae,*' despite having chosen the elegiac form which would invite a gloomy title. In line 485 he is explicitly critical of the king.

154 I Sam. 4, 11, the ark of the covenant was captured by the Philistines, and, in I Samuel, 6, returned.

155 Henry III took the Cross in March, 1250, perhaps in resonse to Louis' capture of Damietta. The truce between England and France was extended. Henry did not go to the Holy Land, either to relieve Louis or to mount a further challenge, though he appeared to make genuine preparations for a future campaign. Henry's true intentions remain unclear. See Carpenter (1996), 115-18, Jackson (2007), 196-97, Weiler (2006), 140-46. For a survey of Henry's crusading pledges, see Forey (1973).

156 Ferdinand III of Castile and León also took the Cross in 1250, but died on 30 May 1252, when about to depart for the East. He was succeeded by Alfonso X. (*CM,* 5.170 & 311). See line 557 below.

157 John hints here at his own failing health or intimations of mortality.

Oh pain, oh death, worse than pain, troubled death, on account of which my righteous indignation, conjoined with tears, inspires elegies! A title matching this metre strikes the same note as gloomy lamentations. But I was not in fear of these unhappy events—that the king would fall short, that justice would sink, that Babylon would crush the glorious battalions of the Cross. That is not the basis on which Heaven's plan ordains matters, having allowed the ark of the covenant to be captured for a short time by evil men. A shepherd boy overcame Goliath, and Israel freed itself from the yoke of slavery under the Babylonians. The king of England is adding to the forces of the Church, and the king of Spain likewise; everywhere the army [of the Cross] is renewing its strength. Their deeds require different poets to write about them when the time has come. By God's gift, the king has miraculously stayed alive and in good health. He has surrendered under the peace the towns which he had captured in war. Such a loss is of little consequence; good fortune will promote the interests of justice, and the king will be their avenger. He drove the enemy a long way back, fortified the city of Caesarea with walls, and furnished it with knights, flour and wine.

<140> What usually happens in wars is to recover after a collapse, to gather strength, and subdue the victor in a new onslaught. The grace of Heaven granted the surrender of many of the leaders of the Parthians as a counterweight to these misfortunes. The warlike army of the Cross captured them as they attacked the pilgrims' fortress, and took them captive. I consider it safer to die in the service of the Cross than to live one's daily life, since that way there is nothing to cause you to sin.

But let the army of the Cross remain alive, so that this outlaw race can be converted. If they refuse to be converted, they will fall by the sword. The Tartars are destroying themselves, on the orders of their king, but they dared to scorn the gentle commands

158 '*refertam*' is semi-erased in the MS. There is a gloss in the left hand margin of f. 113 v in what is probably a fourteenth century hand, omitted by Wright. It reads, '*Scilicet: Palestinam non Cesaream Philippi quam fecit Philippus frater Herodis quando ultra Ierusalem quondam metienda erat Palestina*.' The Tetrarch Philip II, brother of Herod Antipas, built Banyas (Philippi) in 3 BCE, when Herod the Great's kingdom was divided at his death. Louis IX built fortifications at Caesarea Maritima, the modern Caesarea, from 1 April 1251, and other defences in Acre, Haifa, Jaffa and Sidon.

159 Probably a retrospective reference to the murder of Turan Shah by the Mamelukes in 1250.

160 It is not clear to which encounter John is referring.

161 Menache (1997), 143; *CM*, 4.115, '*Haec enim gens est feralis et exlex… .,*' an extract from a letter about the Mongols of 3 July, 1241 from Frederick II to Henry III. Earlier, *CM*, 4.77-78, Matthew Paris says the Mongols are 'the ten tribes, who abandoned the law of Moses.'

162 In 1251-52, the new Khan, Möngke purged supporters of his rivals. See Jackson (2005), 113-5, who cites this passage, and *CM*, 5.340, '*strage inter eos pestifera*.'

Spernere[163] sunt ausi mitia iussa Dei.
Iuste Deus, remove tot seva flagella tueque
Sponse succurras, Ecclesiamque iuves!
Persolvit morti Fredericus[164] federa, pacem
Federat ergo sibi post fera bella fides.
Cum duce Francorum si iam Babilonicus heres
Federa constituit condicione bona,[165]
Sacra Cruci terra reddetur tota, ducique
Conferet Assirio Gallicus ensis opem.
Iustus Heleupenses rex vastat, quicquid et armis
Adquirit victis hostibus eius erit.
Rex Babilonis eos alia de parte potenter
Expugnat flamma, strage, cruore, fame.
Firmum durabit fedus ter quinque per annos
Spem convertendi rege tenente Phari.
Hic idem dominus Babilonis tempore solvit
Captivos multo quos tamen ipse tenet. [114r]
O rex, tiro crucis, caveas tibi! Ne tibi fraudes
Occultant laqueos precipitentque gradus.[166]
Dum Ludovicus adhuc rex Parthos impetit, ite,
Doctores legis[167], spargite verba Crucis.
Arma crucis capiat Romanus, Dacus, Hiberus
Anglia, Teutonicus, Illiricusque vigor.
<141> Corbanan exponant prelati; non licet illis
Claudere thesaurum, sed reserare Deo.
Sanguinis Assirias ubi tinxit purpura Carras,[168]
Quadratum castrum suscitat omne scelus.
Aurum bullitum bibit illic Crassus, et illic
Magnus Pompeius[169] decapitatus erat.
Romanos vetuit Pharon impugnare Sibilla[170]
Docto concipiens pectore fata suo.
Non hec fata tamen nos tangunt, nos quia noster
Salvabit Moyses,[171] Christus ubique potens.

163 The MS duplicates 's' in error at the beginning of the line. This reference to the Mongols probably refers to Andrew of Longjumeau's report back to Louis IX in Caesarea in 1251 of the Mongols' defiant response to his embassy, *DTE* 8.94-95 above. See also Joinville, 470-86.

164 Frederick II died on 13 December, 1250. There was no significant let-up in hostilities between the papacy and Frederick's heirs. By 1251, the former 'anti-king' William of Orange asserted control in Germany, but Frederick's son Conrad IV successfully resisted papal forces in Italy. He was excommunicated in 1254, and died the same year.

165 The murder of Turan Shah (line 426, n. 137 above) had marked the permanent shift of power in Egypt to the Mameluks, though at first they retained the widow of Sultan Ayub as a figurehead, and then a six-year old Ayubbid, al-Ashraf Musa, '*Babilonicus heres.*' Louis IX concluded a fifteen year agreement with the Mameluks in March 1252, securing the release of remaining prisoners

of God. Oh just God, take away these many uncivilised scourges, come to the aid of your bride, and help your Church.

Frederick fully discharged his contract with death, and after vicious wars the faith has formed an alliance for peace. If now the heir to Babylon makes a treaty on reliable terms with the leader of the French, the whole of the Holy Land will be returned to the Cross, and French swords will bring assistance to the Assyrian leader. The just king is harrying the men of Aleppo; and whatever he wins by force of arms will be his, when his enemies have been defeated. The king of Babylon is attacking them in force on another front, with fire, slaughter, blood and starvation. A durable treaty will last for fifteen years, with our king full of hope of converting Egypt. This same lord of Babylon is freeing the captives he himself has been holding for a long time.

Oh king, recruit to the Cross, take good care of yourself, and make sure that cunning plans do not conceal snares and trip you up. While King Louis is still assailing the Parthians, go to it, Doctors of the Law, spread the words of the Cross. Let the energy of the Romans, Danes, Spanish, English, Germans, Illyrians take up the weapons of the Cross. <141> Let our leaders open their treasure chest to view; they must not shut up their treasure but unlock it for God.

When the purple tinge of blood stained Carrhae in Assyria, the crime shocked the whole of the army in order of battle. There Crassus drank down boiling gold, and in another place mighty Pompey was beheaded. The Sibyl forbade the Romans to attack Pharaoh, understanding in her wise heart what fate had in store for them. But these destinies do not affect us because our own Moses will save us, and Christ whose power is everywhere. The pope steers Peter's ship, and breaking up the storms he seeks out safe shores through his strenuous efforts. Those who have been selected

and committing to military support against al-Nasir the sultan of Aleppo. On his final departure for France Louis concluded a peace of two years, six months and forty days with al-Nasir, more or less maintaining the territorial *status quo*.

166 Read '*occultent*' for MS, Wright, '*occultant.*' See line 320, n. 108 above for a similar sentiment.

167 I Tim. 1, 7. See also *MS*, 51, '*O vos doctores legis, fratresque minores.*' By '*Doctores legis*' John probably means no more than 'preachers'. He is making the point that the clergy, as preachers, and governments as a source of wealth should support Louis' military efforts. Of the nations listed, the Spanish were fully engaged against the Muslims in Iberia, the Romans and Germans against the Staufen in the Empire, and the English committed to Henry III's future crusade. The Seventh Crusade had been preached amongst the Danes (Innnocent IV's letter to Eudes). 'Illyrians' were Latin Christians resisting Greek encirclement of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.

168 Crassus, the Roman triumvir, was defeated and killed by the Parthians at the battle of Carrhae, in 53 BCE.

169 Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus was defeated by Caesar at the battle of Pharsalus and murdered on landing in Egypt in 48 BCE.

170 Lucan, 8.824-26.

171 See line 157 above. John again compares Innocent IV with Moses.

Papa regit Petri navem, rumpensque procellas
Litora difficili tuta labore petit.
Sortiti nomen qui sunt a cardine,[172] cursum
Navis rectificant Ecclesieque statum.
Aura sacri flatus tranquillat tempora, portum
Indicat occasus nescia stella maris.[173]
Ecclesie sancte pollet victoria; portum
Cum nautis retinet leta carina Petri.
Parthia suspirat, gravibus percussa flagellis,
Per que crux domuit terga superba sua.
Insidias nuper Libicas percepit Hiberus[174]
Rector, et innumeros messuit ense viros.
Heres Alphonsus Fernandi corde leonem[175]
Gessit, et Ecclesie clara trophea dedit.
Christus quem signat Habraam Loth tollet ab hoste[176]
Et Cisaram Barach coget inire fugam.[177]
Sceptra David novus accipiet, pereunte Saule,
Et fugient palee sub Gedeone leves.[178]
Portas avellet quasi Sampson gratia Christi,
Per quam deflebit diruta phana Dagon.[179]
Stella maris, quam pulcra Iudith designat et Hester,[180]
Deiciet precibus hostica colla suis.
Natis prima suis elegia fluxit ab Eva,[181]
Sed mundo fudit gaudia stella maris.
<142> Que mortis virus victrix exterminat,
Carminis et vite terminus illa mihi.
i. Carmine sic gemitus crebri, diversaque vota,
Et varii mores, et vaga corda patent.[182]
ii. Sanctas relliquias quas regis gratia fecit
Parisius ferri pagina certa tenet.[183]
iii. Hic natura maris monstratur; motus ad arma
Subsequitur; miserum vulgus inerme gemit.
iv. Urbs Acconensis[184] capitur probitate potentum
Regum; dissensum sed nova palma parit.

172 i.e. cardinals. See Walter of Châtillon *Alexandreis,* 1.325, '*Sortiti qui sunt a cardine nomen*'.

173 '*Stella maris occasus nescia*' is from the liturgy for the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, Bannister & Blume (1906), vol. 1, 335.

174 A reference to Ferdinand III's successful campaigns against the Muslims in Iberia, 1228-48, in which his son Alfonso played a leading part from 1240-50.

175 '*leonem / Gessit,*' an implicit comparison with Richard the Lionheart. Alfonso X of Castile succeeded Ferdinand on 30 May 1252. '*Heres*' is just as likely to mean 'heir' as 'successor', and to refer to Alfonso's contribution to his father's campaigns. This reference alone does not therefore fix the date of composition after Ferdinand's death. Alfonso invaded Portugal after accession, and formed an alliance with Henry III of England against Louis IX in 1254.

176 Gen. 14, 12-16. Abraham rescues his nephew, Lot, from the King of Sodom.

to the office derived from the word *cardo* keep the ship and the condition of the Church on course. The breeze of the Holy Spirit keeps the weather calm, and the Virgin Star of the Sea points the way to the harbour. Great is the power of the victory of the holy Church. The joyful ship of Peter and its crew safely make it into port.

The Parthians groan under the impact of the heavy blows by which the Cross has brought their pride to abject submission. The ruler of Spain recently saw through the trap laid for him by the Moors and hacked down men beyond number with his sword. Alfonso the heir of Ferdinand was a lion in his fighting spirit, and dedicated his shining victories to the Church. He whom Christ marks out as the new Abraham, will save Lot from the enemy, and Barach will put Sisera to flight. A new David will take on the sceptre as Saul dies. The insubstantial chaff will fly under Gideon's threshing. The grace of Christ will tear down the gates like Sampson, and Dagon will weep at its destruction of his temples. The Star of the Sea, of whom the beautiful Judith and Esther were precursors, will subject the enemy to servitude by her prayers. The first song of lament cascaded from Eve through her sons, but the Star of the Sea has poured joy over the world. <142> May she who triumphantly destroys the bitterness of death be by my side, to bring an end to my poem and my life.

1: Many laments, various prayers and values, and volatile emotions are laid bare in the poem.
2: The book gives reliable information about the holy relics which the king's gracious spirit caused to be brought to Paris.
3: Here the characteristics of the sea are set out, a general movement towards war follows close behind, and the wretched people groan in their defencelessness.
4: The city of Acre is captured by the noble qualities of powerful kings, but this new victory begets discord.

177 Iud. 4, 6-22 & 5. 20-21. Barak and Deborah rout the Canaanite king, Sisera, at Mount Tabor, helped by divine intervention. See also *EBVM,* 1.499-510, for a fuller version of the story.
178 Iud. 6, 11, Gideon delivers the Israelites from the Midianites, scattering them like chaff in the winepress.
179 Iud. 16, 23-30. Samson brings down the temple of Dagon, and saves the Israelites from the Philistines.
180 Judith (in the Book of Judith) saved the Israelites by murdering Holophernes, Esther (in the Book of Esther) persuaded the Persian king to allow the Jews to defend themselves. These female champions complete John's biblical precedents for recovery from adversity.
181 John contrasts the Virgin with womanhood generally. Holtz (2012), 292 notes John's play on the contrasting anagrams '*Eva*' and '*Ave,*' linked so closely with the Virgin.
182 These numerals appear in the left margin of MS beside the lines indicated. See Introduction, 3, 42.
183 See *DTE*, 2.71-76 & 8.89. A reference to Louis' housing of the Crown of Thorns and other relics in the Sainte Chapelle.
184 Acre.
185 i.e. the rift between Richard I and Philip II, and its consequences, traced in *DTE*, 2.651-54.

v. Ortus adhuc durat dissensus; bella sequuntur[185]
Ecclesie paci que nocuere diu. [114v]
vi. Hereticis domitis respirat terra Tholose
Et colit Ecclesiae sacra statuta sacre.[186]
vii. Strages hereticos ad Tartara mittit, Olimpo
Sublimant animas inclita bella Crucis.
viii. Plurima mira parent, et in his miracula fulgent
Sanctorum ; salvat quos Deus ipse legit.[187]
ix. Gentes Tartaree dominantur; sed dominantes
Omnipotens domitat, catholicosque iuvat.[188]
x. Exsurgit gravibus tandem victoria bellis
Plebsque triumphatrix regnat in arce poli.
Terminat in Domino qui vitam corporis umbram[189]
Exuit et fracto carcere liber abit.
Tota triumphantem circumdat curia celi,
Que miris modulis leta resultat ei.
Cives celestes sua mulcet musica, mentes
Pascit concordi disparitate modi.
Urbis panduntur porte,[190] sociosque receptant
Urbani proceres, ethereique duces.
Nobilis urbs celi tenet ampla suburbia partes
Mundi; sed carcer est baratrale chaos.
Rex illic de iure suos incarcerat hostes,
Divite qui iustos ditat in urbe sua.
<143> Est alius carcer istoc[191] qui crimina purgat,
Que non perfecte diluit exul homo.
Spretis terrenis rebus, spretisque caducis,
Hec data sunt pugili dona beata probo,
Eterni trabea regni viteque corona
Et pacis palma, letitieque stola.
Principis astriferi sceptrum crux florida fructum
Solvit eis quorum floruit ante fides.
Est ubi iustitie sol Christus, gaudia vera
Estas continuat spiritualis ibi.
Tandem fulgebunt sanctorum corpora, sana,
Fortia, formosa, libera, leta, cita.
Dos anime dabitur concordia, plena potestas,
Intellectus, amor, pax, et honoris apex,

186 A dubious claim given John's own experiences in Toulouse and the long campaign of the Dominicans there, despite royal victories in the Albigensian Crusade and against Raymond VII of Toulouse.

187 Strangely reminiscent of the comment attributed by Caesarius of Heisterbach to Arnaud Aimery regarding the siege of Béziers, '*Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius.*' (*Dialogus* 5.21, from II Tim. 2,19).

188 Rumours of the Mongols converting to Christianity were persistent at the time of the Seventh Crusade. See for example *CM*, 5.80, 87, from 1249. At *CM*, 6 (*Add).*163-65 is a letter translated into

5: The consequent discord is still continuing; wars follow, which have long caused lasting damage to the peace of the Church.
6: The heretics are subdued, and the land of Toulouse breathes again and nurtures the holy laws of the holy Church.
7: Slaughter despatches the heretics to hell, and the glorious wars of the cross lift up souls to Olympus.
8: Very many miracles become apparent, and among them miracles by the saints shine forth; God saves those whom he himself chooses.
9: The Tartar races hold sway, but almighty God is mastering the masters, and is helping the Catholics.
10: Victory is finally emerging from grievous wars, and the people rule in triumph in the citadel of Heaven.

It ends with the Lord, who sloughed off physical life as if it were a shadow, and breaking out of its prison, left it in freedom. The whole company of Heaven surrounds Him in triumph, which joyfully reverberates for Him with miraculous melodies. Their own music soothes the citizens of Heaven, and feeds their minds with a harmonious variety of style. The gates of the city are flung open, and the elders of the city and their Heavenly leaders welcome in their friends. The fine city of Heaven has the regions of the world as its spacious suburbs, but the chaos of Hell is its prison. The King rightly imprisons his enemies there, while giving gifts to the righteous men in his own rich city.

<143> There is another prison there, which wipes clean those sins which a man who is denied entry cannot completely expunge. Setting aside earthly and transient things, these blessed gifts are given to him who fights for righteousness—the robe of state of the eternal kingdom, the crown of life, the palm of peace, and the mantle of joy. As the sceptre of our Lord who upholds the stars, the floral Cross sheds its fruit on those whose faith has already bloomed. Where Christ is the sun of justice, the summer of the spirit perpetuates true delights. Finally the bodies of the saints will shine, whole again, strong, beautiful, free, joyful and alive. As a gift to the soul will be granted harmony, complete power, intelligence, love, peace, and the pinnacle

French from the Khan to Louis IX, protesting at the mistreatment of Christians by the Muslims. In 1252, word reached Louis in the Holy Land that Sartaq, son of the Great Khan Batu, had become a Christian, William of Rubruck, 1.7. See also *DTE* 8.95 & n. 33.

189 Lucan, 6.720, '*Aspicit astantem proiecti corporis umbram.*'

190 '*Panduntur portae,*' Vergil, *Aen.* 2.27.

191 Read '*istoc*' with MS, for Wright's '*liber.*' This is a reference to the spiritual prison, or purgatory, where even men without sin need to purge original sin.

192 '*visio laeta Dei,*' Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum,* 36.6.

193 Read '*nescit*' with MS, not '*nascit,*' with Wright.

Visio leta Dei,[192] que pascit. Nectar amoris
Imbuit, hic somnum nescit[193] amena quies;[194]
Insopita micat celi lux, atria semper
Vernant, in thalamis omnis abundat honor.
Sponsa Deo nubit, sed ad hec connubia nullus
Lascivit saltu, tegmine, voce, manu.
Hic sunt matrone caste, nupteque fideles,
Prudentes vidue, virgineique chori.
Emeritos tenet ordo senes, gratantur ephebi
Carnis victores glorificantque Deum.
Pro celo certans celum pro munere sumit
Celestesque liras, angelicumque melos.
Convivas reficit redolens rosa celica, florem
Flos pariens solem, stella, Maria Deum.
ΗΞΠΛΙΚΙΤ . ΛΙβερ . ΔΗ . Τριυμφις . ΗκκΛεςιΗ.[195]

194 These two lines are amended, with the MS, from Wright's '*Visio laeta Dei quem nascit nectar amoris/ Imbuit, hic sompnum nascit amoena quies.*'

195 The colophon is a transcription in a different hand in mixed upper and lower case Greek letters of '*Explicit liber De triumphis Ecclesie*'. **Plate 10**, **p. 391**.

of honour, the joyful vision of God which nourishes it. It drinks the nectar of love, and here a restful serenity never sleeps. The light of Heaven gleams unsleeping, spring always reigns in its halls, and honour overflows in its chambers. The bride offers herself to God in marriage, but no-one at this wedding is wanton in dancing, or by their clothes, or their words or their gestures. Here are chaste matrons, faithful wives, prudent widows, and choirs of virgins. In the company are old men who have earned their places, youths, victorious over the flesh, celebrate and glorify God. God himself, striving on Heaven's behalf takes up Heaven itself as his responsibility, with celestial harps and an angelic chorus. The fragrant Heavenly rose refreshes the wedding guests, Mary, the flower that gave birth to the flower, and the star which bore the sun, which is God.

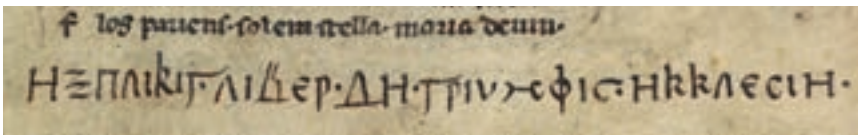

Plate 10. MS London British Library Cotton Claudius A x, f. 114v, Colophon transcribed into Greek letters.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16.
Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, MS D/DP T1/1550.
London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A x.
Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, MS 11M59/B1/3/7.

John of Garland

Ars lectoria Ecclesie, ed. & trans. (French) E. Marguin-Hamon, *L'Ars lectoria Ecclesie de Jean de Garlande: une grammaire versifiée du XIII^me^ siècle et ses gloses* (Turnhout, 2003).

Clavis Compendii, ed. & trans. (French) E. Marguin-Hamon, *La Clavis compendii de Jean de Garlande: édition critique, traduite et commentée* (Turnhout, 2008).

Compendium Gramatice, ed. T. Haye (Cologne, 1995).

De mensurabili musica, ed. E. Reimer, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1972), trans. S. H. Birnbaum, *Concerning measured music* (*De mensurabili musica*) *by Johannes de Garlandia* (Colorado Springs, 1988).

De mysteriis Ecclesie: F.W. Otto, ed., *Johannes de Garlandia de mysteriis Ecclesie: commentarii critici in codices Bibliothecae Academicae Gissensis* (Giessen, 1842). Modern edition and translation (German), *Carmen de misteriis Ecclesie*, ed. & trans. E. Könsgen, with commentary by P. Dintner, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* 32 (2004).

De triumphis Ecclesie, ed. T. Wright, *Johannes de Garlandia, De triumphis ecclesiae libri octo, a Latin poem of the thirteenth century from the unique manuscript in the British Museum* (London, 1856).

Dictionnarius, ed. A. Scheler, *Lexicographie latine du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle. Trois traités de J. de Garlande, A. Neckam et Adam du Petit-Pont. Publiés avec les gloses françaises* (1867, Leipzig), 18–83, trans. B. Rubin, *The dictionarius of John de Garlande: and the author's commentary translated into English and annotated* (Lawrence, Kan., 1981).

Epithalamium Beate Virginis Marie, ed. & trans. (Italian) A. Saiani, *Giovanni di Garlandia, Epithalamium Beate Virginis Marie; testo critico, traduzione e commento* (Florence, 1995).

Exempla honestae vitae, ed. E. Habel, 'Die '*Exempla honestae vitae*' des Johannes de Garlandia, eine lateinische Poetik des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Romanische Forschungen*, 29 (1911), 131–54.

Integumenta Ovidii, ed. F. Ghisaberti, *Giovanni di Garlandia, Integumenta Ovidii: poemetto inedito del secolo xiii* (Messina & Milan, 1933).

Morale Scolarium, ed. & trans. L. J. Paetow, *Two medieval satires on the University of Paris, 'La bataille des VII ars of Henri d'Andeli' and the 'Morale Scolarium' of John of Garland* (Berkeley, 1927), 69–258.

Parisiana poetria, ed. & trans. T. Lawler, *The 'Parisiana poetria' of John of Garland* (New Haven, 1974). For Ch. 7, '*Due Lotrice di Giovanni de Garlandia*,' ed. & trans. (Italian), R. Bonvicino, in F. Bertini ed., *Tragedie Latine del XII e XIII Secolo* (Genoa, 1994), 273–97.

Stella Maris, ed. & trans. E. F. Wilson, *The Stella Maris of John of Garland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946).

Other primary sources

Adelard of Bath, *Quaestiones naturales*, ed. & trans. C. Burnett, in *Conversations with his Nephew: On the Same and the Different, Questions on natural science, and on Birds*, (Cambridge, 1998), 81–236.

—, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae, PL*, 178, cols 611–17.

Alan of Lille (Alanus de Insulis), *De fide Catholica, PL*, 210, cols 306–42.

—, *Liber de planctu naturae*, ed. & trans. W. Wetherbee, *Literary Works: Alan of Lille* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 2013), 21–217.

—, *Anticlaudianus,* ed. & trans. W. Wetherbee, *Literary Works: Alan of Lille* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 2013), 219–518.

—, *Sermo de Cruce Domini*, ed. M-T d'Alverny, in *Alain de Lille: Textes inédits* (Paris, 1965).

Albéric des Trois Fontaines, *Chronicon*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores,* vol. 23, 631–1027 (Hanover, 1874).

Anonymous (often attrib. John of Garland), *Cornutus,* ed. and trans. E. Habel, 'Der Cornutus des Johannes de Garlandia, ein Schulbuch des 13. Jahrhunderts. In den deutschen Űbersetzungen des Mittelalters zum ersten Male,' *Der deutsche Cornutus*, 1, 23–28 (Berlin, 1908).

Anonymous, *Gesta Regum Britannie*, ed. & trans. N. Wright, in N. Wright & J. C. Crick, *The 'Historia Regum Britannie' of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, 5 vols, (Woodbridge, 1988–96), vol. 5 (Cambridge, 1991).

Anonymous, *History of William Marshal*, ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, with notes by D. Crouch, 3 vols (London, 2002–06).

Anonymous, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi, auctore, ut videtur, Ricardo canonico Sanctae Trinitatis Londiniensis*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, 2 vols (London, Rolls Series 38, 1864), vol. 1, trans. H. J. Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade* (Aldershot, 1997).

Anonymous, *Karolus et Leo Papa*, eds & trans. (German) H. Beumann, F. Brunhölzl & W. Winkelmann, *Karolus et Leo Papa, ein Paderborner Epos von Jahre 799* (Paderborn, 1966).

Anonymous, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. C. Croizy-Naquet (Paris, 2014), ed. & trans. M. Ailes & M. Barber, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's 'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte,'* 2 vols, (Woodbridge, 2003).

Anonymous, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France, selon qu'elles sont conservées en l'église de Saint-Denis en Paris*, 6 vols, ed. M. Paulin (Paris, 1836–38).

Anonymous, 'The taking of Lincoln,' in T. Wright, *The political songs of England, from the reign of King John to that of Edward II* (London, 1839), 19–27.
Anselm, *Oratio ad S. Paulum*, in ed. F. S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Cantuarensis Archiepiscopi opera omnia*, 6 vols, (Edinburgh, 1968–84), vol. 3, 33–41.
Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram Libri XII, PL*, 34.
—, *De Perfectione Iustitie Hominis, PL*, 44, cols 291–318.
—, *De natura boni contra Manichaeos, PL*, 42, cols 551–72.
—, *De Civitate Dei, PL*, 41.
—, *Enarrationes In Psalmos, PL*, 36.
—, *Enchiridion de Fide, Spe et Charitate, PL*, 40.
—, *Sermones, PL*, 38.
[See Online Sources below for access to all of Augustine's works]
Bacon, Roger, *Compendium studii philosophiae*, ed. J. Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita* (London, Rolls Series 15, 5 vols, 1859), vol. 4, 391–521.
—, *Questiones super libros octo Physicorum Aristotelis*, in ed. F. M. Delorme, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, 16 vols (Oxford, 1905–40), vol. 13.
—, *Communia naturalia*, ed. R. Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, 16 vols (Oxford, 1905–40), vols 1–2.
Bartholomew of Trent, *Liber Epilogorum in Gesta Sanctorum*, ed. E. Paoli (Florence, 2001).
Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. & trans. B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the British people* (Oxford, 1969).
—, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed. & trans. B. Colgrave, in *Two lives of Saint Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940), 141–310.
Benoît de Saint Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. C. Fahlin, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie par Benoît*, 3 vols (Uppsala, 1951–67).
Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, 8 vols, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot & H. M. Rochais, (Rome, 1957–77).
Biblia Sacra Vulgata, Editio Quinta, eds. R. Weber & R. Gryson (Stuttgart, 2007).
Boethius, *De institutione musica*, ed. & trans. (French) C. Meyer (Turnhout, 2004), trans. (English), C. M. Bower & ed. C. V. Palisca, (New Haven, 1989).
Brandanus Sanctus, *Navigatio Sancti Brendani abbatis*, ed. C. Selmer (Notre Dame, Ind., 1959), trans. J. J. O'Meara & J. M. Wooding, in eds. W. R. J. Barron & G. S. Burgess *The Voyage of St Brendan* (Exeter, 2002), 13–64.
Burton, Annals of, *Annales Monastici*, ed. R. Luard, 5 vols (London, Rolls Series 36, 1864–69), vol. 1.
Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange, 2 vols (Cologne, 1851), trans. H. Scott & C. C. S. Bland, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, 2 vols (London, 1929).
Columbanus, *Ad Hunaldum,* ed. G. Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin, 1957), 184–97.
Dado of Rouen, *Vita Eligiii Episcopi Noviomagensis, MGHS rerum Merovingicarum*, 6 vols, (Hanover, 1885–1920), vol. 4, 634–761.
Damietta, foundation charter of Latin church, ed. J. Richard, 'La fondation d'une église latine en Orient par saint Louis: Damiette,' *Bibliothéque de l'École de Chartres*, 120 (1962), 39–54, trans. P. Jackson (2007), *The Seventh Crusade, 1244–1254* (Aldershot), 95–97.
Dunstable, Annals of, ed. H. R. Luard, (London, Rolls Series 36, 5 vols, 1864–69), vol. 3.

Eadmer of Canterbury, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, ed. A. J. Turner & B. J. Muir, Eadmer of Canterbury: lives and miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald (Oxford, 2006).

Egidius Parisiensis, *Karolinus*, ed. M. L. Colker, in 'The "*Karolinus*" of Egidius Parisius', *Traditio*, 29 (1973), 199–325.

Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronicon*, ed. R. W. O. Helm, *Hieronymus' Zusätze in Eusebius' Chronik und ihr Wert für die Literaturseschichte* (Leipzig, 1929).

Flodoard, ed. I. Heller & G. Waitz, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, vol. 13, 405–599 (Hanover, 1881).

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *De gestis Britonum*, ed. M. D. Reeve, trans. N. Wright, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, (Woodbridge, 2007).

Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, ed. M. C. Woods, *An early commentary on the 'Poetria Nova' of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (New York, 1985), trans. E. Gallo, *The Poetria Nova and its sources in early rhetorical doctrine* (The Hague & Paris, 1971).

Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica 1166–85*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock & G. F. Warner, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, 8 vols (London, Rolls Series 21, 1861–91), vol. 6.

Gerlandus Compotista, *Computus*, ed. & trans. (German) A. Lohr, *Der Computus Gerlandi: Edition, Übersetzung und Erläuterungen* (Stuttgart, 2013).

Gildas, *Liber querulus de excidio Britanniae*, ed. & trans. M. Winterbottom, *The ruin of Britain, and other works* (London, 1978).

Gilo of Paris, *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, eds & trans., C. W. Grocock & J. E. Siberry, *The Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* of Gilo of Paris and a second, anonymous author (Oxford, 1997).

Gregory I, *Dialogi*, ed. A. de Vogüé & trans. (French) P. Antin, 3 vols (Paris, 1978–80).

—, *Moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, 2 vols (Turnhout, 2005).

Grosseteste, Robert, *Questio de fluxu et refluxu maris*, in R. Dale, 'The text of Robert Grosseteste's *Questio de fluxu et refluxu maris* with an English translation', *Isis*, 57 (1966), 455–74.

Henry of Avranches, *Vita Beati Guthlaci metrice composite*, in ed. & trans. D. Townsend, *Saints' Lives*, (2014, Cambridge, Mass.)

Hugh of Mâcon, *Gesta Militum*, ed. E. Könsgen, *Die Gesta Militum des Hugo von Mâcon: ein bisher unbekanntes Werk der Erzählliteratur des Hochmittelalters* (Leiden, 1990).

Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. C. H. Buttimer, *Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon* (Washington, 1939), trans. J. Taylor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St Victor: a medieval guide to the arts* (New York, 1961).

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911), trans. S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach & O. Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006).

Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. A. Boureau, with P. Collomb, L. Moulinier & S. Mula, *La Légende dorée* (Paris, 2004) & trans. W. Granger Ryan, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton, 2012).

Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones vulgares Tusculani episcopi*, no. 48, *Ad cruce signatos vel cruce signandos*, ed. J.Pitra, *Analecta novissima spicilegii Solesmensis, altera continuatio*, 2 vols (Paris, 1888. Reprinted Farnborough, 1967), vol. 2, 422–30.

James I of Aragon, *Llibre dels Fets*, ed. J. M. Casucuberta, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1926–62), trans. D. J. Smith & H. Buffery, *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon* (Aldershot, 2003).

Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. & trans. (French) J. Monfrin (Paris 1995), tr. (English), C. Smith, *The Life of Saint Louis*, (London, 2008).
Jean de Mailly, *Abbreviatio in Gestis et Miraculis Sanctorum*, ed. G. P. Maggioni (Florence, 2013).
Jocelin of Furness, *Life of St Kentigern*, trans. C. W. Green, Thesis at University of Houston, 1998.
John Beleth, *Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ed. H. Douteil (Turnhout, 1976).
John of Hauteville, *Architrenius*, ed. & trans. W. Wetherbee (Cambridge, 1994).
John of Plano Carpini, *Ystoria Mongolarum*, ed. E. Menestò and others, *Giovanni di Pian di Carpine. Storia dei Mongoli* (Spoleto, 1989), trans. by a Nun of Stanbrook Abbey, ed. C. Dawson, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London and New York, 1955), 1–72.
John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. & trans. J. B. Hall, (Turnhout, 1991 & 2013).
—, *Policraticus*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1993), trans. C. J. Nederman (Cambridge, 1990).
Joseph of Exeter, *Antiocheid*, ed. L. Gompf, *Joseph Iscanus: Werke und Briefe*, (Leiden 1970).
—, *Bellum Troianum*, Books 1–3, ed. & trans. A. K. Bate (Warminster, 1986, reprinted Oxford, 2007).
Justinian, *Institutiones*, ed. P. Krüger & T. Mommsen (16th edn), vol. 2 of *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Berlin, 1928), & trans. P. Birks & G. McLeod, *Justinian's Institutes* (London, 1987).
Marbodus of Rennes, *Liber decem capitulorum*, ed. R. Leotta, *De ornamentis verborum; liber decem capitulorum: retorica, mitologia e moralità di un vescovo poeta* (secc. XI–XII) (Florence, 1998).
—, *Libellus de ornamentis verborum, PL*, 171, col. 1819
Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars Versificatoria*, ed. F. Mundari, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera*, 3 vols, (1977–88), vol. 3., trans. A. E. Galyon (Ames, Iowa, 1980).
Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. Luard, 7 vols. (London, Rolls Series 57, 1872–84), trans. J. Giles, 3 vols (London, 1853).
—, *Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Item, ejusdem Abbrevatio chronicorum Angliae*, ed. Sir F. Madden, 3 vols (London, Rolls Series 44, 1866–69).
Orderic Vitalis, ed. & trans. M. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols, (Oxford, 1969–80).
Paris, Treaty of (1229), eds. C. Devic & J. Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 10 vols, (Toulouse, 1872–1905), vol. 8, 883–93, trans. W. & M. Sibly, *The chronicle of William of Puylaurens: the Albigensian crusade and its aftermath* (Woodbridge, 2003), Appendix C, 138–44.
Peter of Blois, *Sermones*, ed. I. A. Giles, *Petri Blesensis Bathionensis archidiaconi Opera Omnia* 4 vols, (Oxford, 1846), vol. 4.
—, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane,* ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Petri Blesensis Tractatus duo* (Turnhout, 2002).
Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi Hystoria Albigensis,* ed. P. Guébin & E. Lyon, 3 vols (Paris, 1926–39), trans. W. & M. Sibly, *The history of the Albigensian Crusade: Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay's 'Historia Albigensis'* (Woodbridge, 2003).

Peter of Spain, *Questiones super libro 'De animalibus' Aristotelis*, ed. F. N. Sánchez (Farnham, 2015).

Pseudo-Isidorus, *Decretalium Collectio*, *PL*, 130.

Pseudo-Turpin, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, ed. C. Meredith-Jones (Paris, 1936), ed. & trans. K. R. Poole, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin: Book IV of the Liber Sancti Jacobi (Codex Calixtinus)*, (New York, 2014).

Red Book of the Exchequer. *Liber rubeus de sacario*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols (London, Rolls Series 99, 1896).

Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon Ricardi Divinensis de tempore Regis Ricardi Primi*, ed. & trans. J. T. Appleby (London, 1963).

Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, ed. & trans (French) E. Carpentier, G. Pon & Y. Chauvin (Paris, 2006).

Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. D. Kempf & M. G. Bull (Woodbridge, 2013), trans. C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade* (Aldershot, 2005).

Roger of Howden, ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, 4 vols, (London, Rolls Series 51, 1868–1871), trans. H. T. Riley, *The annals of Roger de Hoveden: comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe* (Felinfach, 1994–97).

Roger of Torre Maggiore, *Rogerii Miserabile Carmen super destructione Hungariae per Tartaros facta*, ed. L. Heinemann, *MGHSS*, 29 (Hanover, 1892), 547–567.

Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. H. Hewlett, *Rogeri de Wendover, Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum ab Anno Domini MCLIV annoque Henrici Anglorum regis Secundi primo*, 3 vols, (London, Rolls Series 84, 1886–89).

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica sive Chronographia universalis*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, *MGHSS*, 6, 300–374 (Hanover, 1844).

Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *PG*, 67, 0030–0842, trans. H. F. Bohn (London, 1953).

Theodulf of Orléans, *De libris quos legere solebam, PL*, 105, 0331–0333.

Thomas of Celano, *Vita Prima Sancti Francisci*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 10 (1926–1941, Florence).

Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little (Manchester, 1951).

Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum pontificum atque Spalatensium,* ed. L. Heinemann, *MGHSS,* 29, 568-98 (Hanover, 1892).

Tours, Chronicle of, *Chronicon Sancti Martini Turonensis auctore anonymo canonico eiusdem monasterii* (MS Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliotek, Phillipps lat. 145, ff. 255^{r}–260^{v}), trans. R. Kay, *The Council of Bourges, 1225* (Aldershot, 2002).

Vincent of Beauvais, see **Online Resources**, below.

Voragine, Jacobus de, *Legenda Aurea, vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, ed. & trans. (German) B. W. Häuptli, *Legenda Aurea - Goldene* Legende, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 2014), trans. (English) W. G. Ryan, *The Golden Legend; Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993).

Wace, *Roman de Rou,* trans. G. S. Burgess, with the text of A. J. Holden (1970) and notes by G. S. Burgess & E. van Houts (St.Helier, 2002).

Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis*, ed. M. V. Colker, *Galteri de Castillione Alexandreis* (Padua, 1978).
—, *The shorter poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse*, ed. & trans. D. A. Traill (Oxford, 2013).
William le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, ed. F. Delaborde, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, 2 vols (Paris, 1882–85), vol. 1.
—, *Guillelmi Armorici Philippidos Libri XII*, vol. 2.
William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. E. A. Jeauneau (Turnhout, 2006)
William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. & trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998).
William of Nangis, *Gesta Sancte Memorie Ludovici Regis Francie*, in P. Daunou & J. Naudet eds, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols, vol. 20 (1840), 509–65.
William Pelhisson, ed. C. Douais, *Les sources de l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France* aux *XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ siècles: mémoire suivi du texte authentique et complet de la Chronique de Guilhem Pelhisso. Et d'un fragment d'un registre de l'Inquisition* (Paris, 1881), pp. 81–118, ed. & trans. W. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (London, 1974), 208–36.
William of Puylaurens, *Chronica*, ed. & trans. (French) J. Duvernoy, *Guillaume de Puylaurens: Chronique* (*Chronica magistri Gullielmi de Podio Laurentii*) (Paris, 1976), trans. W. & M. Sibly, *The chronicle of William of Puylaurens* (Woodbridge, 2003).
William of Tudela and another, *Cansó de la Crozada*, E. Martin-Chabot ed. & trans. (French), *La Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, 3 vols (Paris, 1973–89), trans. J. Shirley, *The song of the Cathar wars: a history of the Albigensian Crusade* (Aldershot, 1996). See also P. Meyer, ed. & trans. (French), *La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois commencée par Guillaume de Tudèle et continuée par un poète anonyme*, 2 vols (Paris, 1875–9).
William of Tyre Old French continuation (Eracles), ed. M. R. Morgan, *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1192)* (Paris, 1982), trans. P. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (Aldershot, 1996), 11–145.
William of Tyre Old French continuation (Rothelin), 'Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, de 1228 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin', *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens Occidentaux,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), 485–639, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century* (Aldershot, 1999).

Collated primary sources

Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, ed. G. M. Dreves, H. M. Bannister, & C. Blume, 55 vols (1907, Leipzig, reprinted Bern & Frankfurt, 1978).
Berger, E.,(1881-[1920]) *Les Registres d'Innocent IV. Recueil des bulles de ce pape, publiées ou analysées d'après les manuscrits originaux du Vatican et de la Bibliothèque Nationale par Elie Berger*, 4 vols (Paris).
Bird, J. (2004), 'The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's circle, and the Crusade: two unpublished crusading appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 14470,' *Medieval Sermon Studies,* 48, 5–28.

Bird, J., Peters, E., & Powell, J. M. (2013), *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated documents in translation from Innocent III to the fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Philadelphia).
Bull, M. (1999), *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and Translation* (Woodbridge).
Copeland, R. & Sluiter, I. eds (2009), *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric* (Oxford).
De Laborde, J. ed. (1875), *Layettes du Trésor de Chartres*, 5 vols, (Paris 1863–1909), vol. 3.
Denifle, H. & Chatelain, E. eds (1891–99), *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols, (Paris, reprinted Brussels, 1964).
Duchesne, A. (1636–49), *Historiae Francorum Scriptores ab ipsius Gentis Origine*, 5 vols (Paris), vol. 5.
Faral, E. (1924), *Les arts poétiques du XII^e^ et du XIII^e^ siècle* (Paris).
Fournier, M. ed. (1890–92), *Les Statuts et privilèges des universités françaises depuis leur fondation jusqu'en 1789*, 3 vols (Paris, reprinted 1970)
Jackson, P. (2007), *The Seventh Crusade, 1244–54: sources and documents* (Aldershot).
Kay, R. (2002), *The Council of Bourges, 1225. A documentary history* (Aldershot).
Léglu, C., Rist, R., & Taylor, C. eds (2014), *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: a sourcebook* (London).
Migne, J.-P. ed. (1844–64), *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina,* 221 vols (Paris).
Pitra, J. B., (1852–58) *Spicilegium solesmense complectens patrum sanctorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hacetenus opera: selecta ex graecis orientalibusque et latinis codicibus* 4 vols, (Paris).
Schaller, H. M. (1993), *Stauferzeit: ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Hanover).
Singer, S. (1995–2002), *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi*, 13 vols (Berlin).
Werner, J. (1905,), *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau, reprinted Hildesheim & New York, 1979).

Secondary sources

Abulafia, A. S. (2005), 'Walter of Châtillon — a twelfth century poet's engagement with Jews', *Journal of Medieval History*, 31, 265–86.
Abulafia, D. (1988), *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London).
Aikin, J. (1812), *The lives of John Selden Esq., and Archbishop Usher, with notices of the principal English men of letters with whom they were connected* (London).
Aubrey, E. (1997), 'The dialectic between Occitania and France in the thirteenth century,' *Early Music History*, 16, 1–54.
Baert, B. (2004), *A Heritage of Holy Wood: the Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden).
Baldwin, J. W. (1982), 'Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: a social perspective,' in R. L. Benson & G. Constable eds, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford), 138–72.
Baldwin, J. W. & W. Simons (2014), 'The consequences of Bouvines,' *French Historical Studies*, 37, 243–69.
Bale, J. (1548), *Index Britanniae Scriptorum, quos ex variis bibliothecis non parvo labore collegit Ioannes Baleus, cum aliis*, ed. R. L. Poole & M. Bateson (1902), *John Bale's Index of British and other writers* (Oxford).
Bates, D. (2016), *William the Conqueror* (New Haven & London).

Barber, M. (1984), 'The Crusade of the Shepherds in 1251,' in J. F. Sweets (ed.), *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History, 14–16 October, 1982, Winnipeg* (Lawrence, Kansas), 1–23, reprinted 1985 in M. Barber, *Crusaders and heretics, 12th-14th centuries* (Aldershot).

Barber, M. (2000), *The Cathars: Dualist heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harlow & New York).

Battistini, M. (2002), *Simboli e allegorie* (Milan).

Berend, N. (2001), *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and 'pagans' in medieval Hungary* (Cambridge).

Berend, N., P. Urbańczyk, & P. Wiszewski, (2013), *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages*: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, *c.* 900-*c.* 1300 (Cambridge).

Bernardinello, S. (1979), *Autografi Greci e Greco-Latini in Occidente* (Padua).

Bianchi, L. (1997), 'Les interdictions relatives à l'enseignement d'Aristote au XIIIe siècle', in C. Lafleur & J. Carrier (eds.), *L'enseignement de la philosophie au XIIIe siècle. Autour du 'Guide de l'étudiant' du ms. Ripoll 109* (Turnhout),109-37.

Biller, P. (2006), 'Goodbye to Waldensianism?' *Past and Present,* 192, 3–33.

Bonnassie, P. & Pradalié, G. (1979), *La capitulation de Raymond VII et la fondation de l'Université de Toulouse 1229-1979* (Toulouse).

Born, L. K. (1964), 'An analysis of the quotations and citations in the *Compendium Grammatice'* of John of Garland,' in C. Henderson ed., *Classical, Medieval and Renaissance studies in honour of Berthold Louis Ullman*, 2 vols (Rome), vol. 2, 51–84.

Bremner, J. N. & Horsfall, N. M. (1987), *Roman myth and mythography* (London).

Broun, D. (1999), *The Irish identity of the kingdom of the Scots in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (Woodbridge).

Brundage, J. (1993), 'The Cambridge Faculty of Canon Law and the Ecclesiastical Courts of Ely,' in P. Zutshi, ed., *Medieval Cambridge: Essays on the Pre-Reformation University* (Woodbridge), 23–39.

Bursill-Hall, G. (1976), 'Johannes de Garlandia — Forgotten Grammarian and the Manuscript Tradition,' *Historiographica Linguistica,* 3, 155–77.

Carpenter, D. A. (1990), *The minority of Henry III* (London).

—, (1996), *The reign of Henry III* (London).

Chadwyck-Healey, C. (1984–86), *Index of Manuscripts in the British Library*, 10 vols, (Cambridge).

Chaytor, H. J. (1939), *Savaric de Mauléon, Baron and Troubadour* (Cambridge).

Cheyette, F. L. (2001), *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca & London).

Church, S. (2015), *King John: England, Magna Carta and the making of a Tyrant* (London).

Clanchy, M. T. (3rd edn, 2013), *From memory to written record: England 1066–1307* (Oxford).

Cole, P. J., D. L. D'Avray, & J. Riley-Smith (1990), 'Application of theology to current affairs: memorial sermons on the dead of Mansurah and on Innocent IV', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 63, 227–47.

Cole, P. J. (1991), *The preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land*, 1095–1270 (Cambridge, Mass.).

Colker, M. L. (1974), 'New evidence that John of Garland revised the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei,' *Scriptorium*, 1, 68–71.

Constable, G. (1995), *Three studies in medieval religious and social thought* (Cambridge).

Coulson, F. T. (2007), 'Ovid's transformations in medieval France (*c.* 1100-*c.* 1350)', in A. Keith & S. Rupp eds. *Metamorphosis: the Changing Face of Ovid in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Toronto), 33–60.

—, (2011), 'Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the school tradition of France, 1180–1400: texts, manuscript traditions, manuscript settings', in J. G. Clark, F. T. Coulson & K. L. McKinley (eds), *Ovid in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge), 48–82.

Cowan, E. J. (1984), 'Myth and identity in early medieval Scotland,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 63, 111–35.

Crouch, D. (1990), *William Marshal: court, career and chivalry in the Angevin Empire 1147–1219* (Harlow).

Dales, R. C. (1995), *The problem of the rational soul in the thirteenth century* (Leiden).

D'Avezac, M. (1838), *Relation des Mongols ou Tartares, première édition complète, publiée et précédée d'une notice sur les anciens voyages de Tartarie en général et sur celui de Jean du Plan de Carpin en particulier* (Paris).

Davis, M. T. (2011), '*Fitting to the Requirements of the Place: the Franciscan Church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Paris,*' in eds Z. Opačič & A. Timmermann, *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity* (Turnhout).

De Ghellinck, J. (1948), '*Iuventus, gravitas, senectus,*' in *Studia Mediaevalia in honorem admodum reverendi patris Raymundi Josephi Martin* (Bruges), 39–59.

De Ridder-Symoens, H. (1992) ed., *Universities in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 of ed. W. Rüegg (1992–2011), *A History of the University in Europe*, 4. vols (Cambridge).

Dickson, G. (2008), *The Children's Crusade: Medieval History, or Modern Mythistory* (Basingstoke).

Donati, S. (2015), 'Is Celestial Motion a Natural Motion?' in ed. P. J. J. M. Bakker, *Averroes' Natural Philosophy and its Reception in the Latin West* (Leuven).

Dossat, Y. (1970), 'Les premiers maîtres à l'Université de Toulouse: Jean de Garlande, Hélinand,' in *Les Universités du Languedoc au XIII^e siècle* (Toulouse), 179–90.

Duby, G. (1973), *Le dimanche de Bouvines; 27 juillet, 1214* (Paris, reprinted 1985), C. Tihanyi trans. (1990), *The Legend of Bouvines: war, religion and culture in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge).

Duncan, A. A. M. (1999), 'John, King of England and the Kings of Scots,' in ed. S. D. Crouch, *King John: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge).

Duhamel. P. (2012) 'Jean de Garlande: le musicien et l'université,' in C. Angotti, M. Brînzei & M. Teeuwen eds, *Portraits de Maîtres offerts à Olga Weijers* (Porto), 269–85.

Echard, S. (1998), *Arthurian narrative in the Latin tradition* (Cambridge).

Égasse Du Boulay, C. (1665–73), *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, ipsius fundationem, nationes, facultates, magistratus, decreta, censuras et iudicia in negotiis fidei, privilegia, … aliaque id genus cum instrumentis publicis et authenticis a Carolo M. ad nostra tempora ordine chronologico complectens*, 6 vols (Paris).

Falk, M. (1999), 'Astronomical names for the Days of the Week,' *Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada*, 93, 122–33.

Fabricius, J. A. (1754), *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis,* 6 vols (Padua).

Ferruolo, S. C. (1985), *The origins of the University: the schools of Paris and their critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford).

Forey, A. J. (1973), 'The Crusading Vows of the English King Henry III,' *Durham University Journal,* 65, 229–47.

Fried, J. (2007), *Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini. The misinterpretation of a fiction and its original meaning,* (Berlin & New York).

Gabriel, A. L. (1969), *Garlandia* (Frankfurt-am-Main).

Gaposchkin, M. C. (2008), 'Louis IX, crusade and the promise of Joshua in the Holy Land,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 34, 245–74.

—, (2013a), 'The captivity of Louis IX', *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae,* 18, 85–114.

—, (2013b), 'From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300,' *Speculum,* 88, 44–91.

—, (2017), *Invisible Weapons* (Ithaca, NY & London).

Gatien-Arnoult, A. F. (1866), 'Jean de Garlande, docteur, régent de grammaire à l'université de Toulouse de 1229 à 1232,' '*Revue de Toulouse et du Midi de la France,*' 23,117–37.

Géraud, H. (1837) *Paris sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris).

Gillingham, J. (1979), 'The unromantic death of Richard I,' *Speculum*, 54, 18–41.

—, (1999), *Richard I* (New Haven and London).

—, (2010), 'The Anonymous of Béthune, King John and Magna Carta,' in J. S. Loengard (ed.), *Magna Carta and the England of King John* (Woodbridge).

Good, J. (2009), *The cult of St George in medieval England* (Woodbridge).

Gorochov, N. (2013), *Le milieu universitaire à Paris dans la première moitié du XIII e siècle, in* J. Verger & O. Weijers, (2013), eds., *Les débuts de l'enseigement universitaire à Paris (1200–1245 environ)*, 49–65 (Turnhout).

—, (2016), *Naissance de l'université. Les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)* (Paris).

Graham-Leigh, E. (2005), *The southern French nobility and the Albigensian Crusade* (Woodbridge).

Grant, L. (2016), *Blanche of Castile: Queen of France* (New Haven).

Green, R. H. (1956), 'Alan of Lille's *De Planctu Naturae,*' *Speculum*, 31, 649–674.

Grondeux, A. & Marguin, E. (1999), 'L'oeuvre grammaticale de Jean de Garlande (ca. 1195–1272?) auteur, réviseur et glosateur: un bilan,' *Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, vol. 21, 133–63.

Grondeux, A. (2000), 'La révision du *Graecismus* d'Évrard de Béthune par Jean de Garlande,' *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, 29, 317–25.

—, (2013), '*Le trivium à la faculté des arts de Paris avant 1245. Quelques questions méthodologiques,*' in J. Verger & O. Weijers, eds., *Les Débuts de l'enseignement universitaire à Paris (1200–1245 environ)*, 49–65 (Turnhout).

Guerry, E., 'Crowning Paris: King Louis IX, Archbishop Cornut, and the Translation of the Crown of Thorns,' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (to be published shortly).

Hall, M. A. (2013), 'An academic call to arms in 1252: John of Garland's crusading epic *De triumphis Ecclesiae,' Crusades*, 12, 153–74.

Hallam, E. M. & Everard, J. (2013), *Capetian France 987–1328* (3rd edn) (Harlow).

Hanley, C. (2016), *Louis: the French Prince who invaded England* (New Haven).

Harris, J. (2003), *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London).
Haskins, C. H. (1902), 'Robert Le Bougre and the beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France,' *American Historical Review*, 7, 631–52.
Hasse, D. N. (2000), *Avicenna's 'De Anima' in the Latin West: the Formation of a Peripatetic Philosophy of the Soul, 1160–1300* (London and Turin).
Hauréau, J-B. (1877), *Notices sur les oeuvres authentiques ou supposés de Jean de Garlande,* later included in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 43 vols (Paris), vol. 27, pt. 2, 1–86.
Herrick, S. K. (2010), 'Studying Apostolic Hagiography: the case of Fronto of Périgueux, Disciple of Christ,' *Speculum*, 85, 235–70.
Holtz, L. (2012), 'Jean de Garlande: la dévotion de Maître Jean de Garlande,' in C. Angotti, M. Brînzei & M. Teeuwen eds., *Portraits de Maîtres offerts à Olga Weijers* (Porto), 287–96.
Hosler, J. D., *The Siege of Acre, 1189-91* (New Haven, 2018).
Housley, N. (2008), *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land* (New Haven & London).
Humphreys, R. S. (1977), *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany, N.Y.)
Hunt, R. W. (1966), *Greek Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: Catalogue of an Exhibition held in connection with the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford).
—, (1991), *Teaching and learning Latin in thirteenth century England*, 3 vols, (Woodbridge), vols. 1& 2.
Jackson, P. (2005), *The Mongols and the West*, 1221–1410 (Harlow).
—, (2017), *The Mongols and the Islamic World: from Conquest to Conversion* (New Haven & London).
James, M. R. (1903), *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover: the catalogues of the libraries of Christ church priory and St Augustine's abbey at Canterbury and of St Martin's priory at Dover* (Cambridge).
—, (1925), 'The drawings of Matthew Paris,' *Walpole Society*, 14, 1–26.
Jeserich, P. (2008), *Musica naturalis: Tradition und Kontinuität speculativ-metaphysischer Musiktheorie in der Poetik des französischen Spätmittelalters* (Stuttgart), trans. (2013), M. J. Curley & S. Rendall, *Musica Naturalis: Speculative Music Theory and Poetics, from Saint Augustine to the late Middle Ages in France* (Baltimore).
Jiménez-Sanchez, P. (2008), *Les catharismes: Modèles dissidents du christianisme medieval (XII^e^-XIII^e^ siècles)* (Rennes).
Jones, R. (2004), 'What Banner thine? The Banner as a Symbol of Identification, Status and Authority on the Battlefield,' *The Haskins Society Journal*, 15, 101–09.
Jordan, W. C. (1979), *Louis IX and the challenge of the Crusade: a study in rulership* (Princeton).
Kempshall, M. (2011), *Rhetoric and the writing of history, 400–1500* (Manchester).
Lawler, T. (2004), 'Garland, John of (b. *c.* 1195, d. in or after 1258),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford), vol. 21, 476–78.
Le Clerc, V. (1847), *Histoire littéraire de la France,* 41 vols, (Paris.1733–1981), vol. 21, 369–72.
—, (1852), *Histoire littéraire de la France,* 41 vols, (Paris.1733–1981), vol. 22, 11–13, 77–103 & 948–50.
Ledain, B. (1892), *Savary de Mauléon et le Poitou à son époque* (Saint-Maixent).

Leff, G. (1992), 'The *Trivium* and the three philosophies,' in H. De Ridder-Symoens ed., *A History of the University in Europe*, 4 vols (Cambridge), vol. 1, Universities in the Middle Ages, 307–336.

Le Goff, J. (1981), *La Naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris), trans. (1990), A. Goldhammer, *The Birth of Purgatory* (London).

—, (1996), *Saint Louis* (Paris), trans. (2009), G. E. Gollrad, (Notre Dame, Indiana).

Leyser, P. (1721), *Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi decem post annum a nato Christo CCCC seculorum* (Magdeburg).

Little, A. (1917), 'The Franciscan school at Oxford: Grosseteste and Bacon,' in A. Little (ed.), *Studies in English Franciscan history* (Manchester & London), 193–221.

Lloyd, S. (1991), 'William Longespée II: the Making of an English Crusading Hero' (Part I), *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 35, 41–69.

—, (1992), 'William Longespée II: the Making of an English Crusading Hero' (Part II), *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36, 76–125.

Lower, M. (2005), *The Barons' Crusade: a Call to Arms and its Consequences* (Philadelphia).

Maier, C. T. (1994), *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge).

Marenbon, J. (2007), *Medieval Philosophy: an historical and philosophical introduction* (London and New York).

Marguin-Hamon, E. (2006), 'Tradition manuscrit de l'oeuvre de Jean de Garlande,' *Revue d'Histoire des textes*, n.s. 1, 189–257.

—, (2010a), 'La théorie des styles selon Jean de Garlande et sa mise en application dans l'oeuvre poétique,' *Studia classica et mediaevalia*, 7, 27–43.

—, (2010b), 'Jean de Garlande, entre poétique et musique,' *Revue d'Histoire des Textes,* n.s. 5, 175–97.

—, (2010c), 'Exemples comparés de traitement du mythe et d'écriture mythographique à l'*Aetas Ovidiana* (XII^{e}-XIV^{e} siècles),' *Camenae,* 8, 1–35.

Markowski, M. (1984), '*Crucesignatus*: its origins and early usage,' *Journal of Medieval History,* 10, 157–65.

Martin, J. (1982), 'Classicism and style in Latin literature,' in R. L. Benson & G. Constable eds, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford), 537–68.

McGlynn, S. (2011), *Blood cries Afar: the forgotten invasion of England 1216* (Stroud).

McKitterick, R. (2004), *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind.).

Menache, S. (1996), 'Tartars, Jews, Saracens and the Jewish-Mongol 'plot' of 1241', *History*, 81, 319–42.

—, (1997), 'Matthew Paris's attitudes towards Anglo-Jewry', *Journal of Medieval History,* 23, 139–62.

Montanaro, M. (2008), *Formaggio con le pere: La storia in un proverbio*, trans. (2010) B. A. Brombert, *Cheese, pears and history in a proverb* (New York).

Morgan, D. (2007), *The Mongols* (2nd edn) (Oxford).

Mundy, J. H. (1954), *Liberty and political power in Toulouse 1050–1230* (New York).

—, (2006), *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Aldershot).

North, J. (1992), 'The *Quadrivium*,' in H. De Ridder-Symoens ed., *A History of the University in Europe*, 4 vols (Cambridge), vol. 1, Universities in the Middle Ages, 307–336.

Novati, F. (1902), ed., 'Un poème inconnu de Gautier de Châtillon,' in *Mélange Paul Fabre* (Paris), 262–78.

Oxford Classical Dictionary (3 rev. ed.), ed. S. Hornblower & A Spawforth (Oxford, 2005).

Paetow, L. J. (1928), 'The Crusading Ardor of John of Garland,' in L. J. Paetow (ed.), *The Crusades and other Historical Essays, presented to Dana C. Munro by his former students*, (New York, reprinted 1968), 207–22.

Park, D. (2016), 'There and back again: Eleanor of Aquitaine's journey to fetch Berengaria of Navarre,' *The Historian*, 78, 16–21.

Paul, N. L. (2012), *To Follow in Their Footsteps: the Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.).

Pegg, M. G. (2008), *A most holy war: the Albigensian Crusade and the battle for Christendom* (New York and Oxford).

Perry, G. (1213), *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge).

Phillips, M. (2006), 'The Thief's Cross: Crusade and penance in Alan of Lille's *Sermo de Cruce Domini*,' in *Crusades*, 5, 143–56.

Planta, J. (1802), *A catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library deposited in the British Museum* (London).

Power, D. (2013), 'Who went on the Albigensian Crusade?,' English Historical Review, 128, 1047–85.

Raby, F. J. E. (1953), *A history of Christian-Latin poetry from the beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages* (2nd edn) (Oxford).

—, (1957), *A history of secular Latin poetry in the Middle Ages* (2nd edn), 2 vols, (Oxford).

Rashdall, H. (1936), *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols, ed. F. M. Powicke & A. B. Emden (Oxford).

Ridder-Symoens, H. (1992), ed., 4 vols, *A History of the University in Europe* (Cambridge), vol. 1, *Universities in the Middle Ages.*

Rigg, A. G. (1993), *A history of Anglo-Latin literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge).

Riley-Smith, J. (1997), *The First Crusaders 1095–1131* (Cambridge).

Rist, R. (2009), *The papacy and crusading in Europe, 1198–1245* (London).

Rivet de la Grange, A. (1747), 'Jean de Garlande, poète et grammairien,' in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 41 vols (Paris, 1733–1981), vol. 8, 83–98.

Roquebert, M. (1970–89), *L'épopée cathare*, 4 vols (Toulouse).

Rose, S. (2013), *England's Medieval Navy 1066–1509* (Barnsley).

Sackville, L. J. (2011), *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: the textual representations* (York).

Schein, S. (2005), *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West, 1099–1187* (Aldershot).

Schmidt, P. G. (1992), 'Rom aus der Sicht eines Pariser Hochschullehrers (Johannes de Garlandia),' in B. Schimmelpfennig & L. Schmugge eds, *Rom im hohen Mittelalter; Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10 bis zum 12 Jahrhundert. Reinhard Elze zur Vollendung seines siebzigsten Lebensjahres gewidmet* (Sigmeringen), 16–68.

—, (1998a), 'Antike Autoren im Werk des Johannes de Garlandia,' in C. Collatz, J. Dummer, J. Kollesch & M–L. Werlitz eds., *Dissertatiunculae criticae; Festschrift für Günther Christian Hansen*' (Würtzburg), 473–77.

—, (1998b), 'Johannes de Garlandia: Zur Biographie eines christlichen Humanisten des 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Gli Umanesimi medievali*, 617–23.
Siberry, E. (1985), *Criticism of Crusading: 1095–1274* (Oxford)
Smith, A. (1979), 'Lucius of Britain: Alleged King and Church Founder,' *Folklore* 90, 29–36.
Smith, C. E. (1958), *The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages: its origins and growth to 1500 A.D.* (Milwaukee).
Smith, D. J. (2010), *Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition in the Lands of the Crown of Aragon (c. 1167–1276)* (Leiden).
Spiegel, G. M. (1983), 'The Cult of St Denis and Capetian kingship,' in S. Wilson ed., *Saints and their Cults* (Cambridge).
Steele, R., (1919), '*Dies Aegyptaici*,' in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 13, 108–21.
Stein, E. (1995), *Leben und Visionen der Alpais von Cudot (1150–1211)* (Tübingen).
Stevens, J., (2005), *The Later Cambridge Songs* (Oxford).
Sumption, J. (1978), *The Albigensian Crusade* (London).
'Sylvanus Urban' (Edward Cave) (1838), 'Middle Age Latin Poetry', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 10, 500–04.
Tanner, T. (1748), *Biblioteca Britannico-Hibernica, sive de scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia ad saeculi XVII. initium floruerunt, literarum ordine juxta familiarum nomina dispositis commentarius* (London).
Tite, C. G. C. (1984), ed., *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ: Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, 1696* (Woodbridge).
—, (2003), *Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing and Use* (London).
Tolan, J. V. (2008), *Sons of Ishmael*: *Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, Fa.).
Tracey, L. (2006), 'The uses of torture and violence in the fabliaux: when comedy crosses the line,' *Florilegium*, 23, 143–68.
Trapp, J. B. (1973), 'Ovid's tomb: the growth of a legend from Eusebius to Laurence Sterne, Châteaubriand and George Richmond,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36, 35–76.
Tyerman, C. (1998), *The Invention of the Crusades* (London).
Ussher, Rev. J. (1613), *Gravissimae quaestionis de Christianarum Ecclesiarum in Occidentis praesertim partibus ab apostolicis temporibus ad nostrum usque aetatem continua successione et statu historica explicatio* (London).
— (1639), *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (Dublin).
Vaughan, R. (1958), *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge).
Verbruggen, F. (1954), *De Krijgskunst in West-Europa in de Middeleeuwen, IXe tot begin XIVe eeuw* (*avec un résumé français*) (Brussels), trans. S. Willard & R. W. Southern, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages from the Eighth Century to 1340*, 2nd edn, revised (Woodbridge, 1997).
Verger, J. (1992), 'Patterns,' in H. de Ridder-Symoens ed., '*A History of the University in Europe*,' 4 vols (Cambridge), vol. 1, 35–65.
—, (2006), 'Le temps des universités (XIIIe – XVe siècle),' in P. Riché & J. Verger, *Des Nains sur des épaules de Géants: Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge* (2006), 185–313 (Paris).

Verger, J. & Weijers, O. (2013), eds., *Les débuts de l'enseignement universitaire à Paris (1200–1245 environ)* (Turnhout).
Villegas-Aristizabal, L. (2018), 'Did Savary de Mauléon participate in Alfonso IX's siege of Caceres, 1218?' *De Medio Aveo* 12, 99-118.
Vincent, N. (1996), *Peter des Roches: an alien in British politics, 1205–1238* (Cambridge).
—(1999), 'Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel,' in J. D. Church ed., *King John: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge), 165–219.
Waite, W. G. (1960), 'Johannes de Garlandia, poet and musician,' *Speculum*, vol. 35, 179–95.
Wakefield, W. L. (1974), *Heresy, crusade and inquisition in southern France 1100–1250* (Berkeley & Los Angeles).
Walsh, P. G. (1993), *Love Lyrics from Carmina Burana* (Chapel Hill, N. C.).
Watson, A. G. (1969), *The manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London).
Wei, I. P. (2012), *Intellectual culture in Medieval Paris: theologians and the University, c. 1100–1330* (Cambridge).
Weijers, O. (1987), *Terminologie des Universités au XII^e Siècle* (Rome).
—, (2015), *A Scholar's Paradise: Teaching and Debating in Medieval Paris* (Turnhout).
Weiler, B. K. U. (2006), *Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire 1216–72* (Woodbridge).
Whalen, B. E. (2007), 'Rethinking the schism of 1054: authority, heresy and the Latin rite,' *Traditio*, 62, 1–24.
Whitcomb, P. (1999), 'Teachers, booksellers and taxes: reinvestigating the life and activities of Johannes de Garlandia,' *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 8, 1–13.
Wilkinson, L. J. (2007), *Women in Thirteenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Woodbridge).
Wilson, E. F. (1933), 'The *Georgica spiritualia* of John of Garland,' *Speculum*, 8, 358–77.
—, (1948), 'Pastoral and *Epithalamium* in Latin Literature,' *Speculum*, 23, 35–57.
Wolff, R. L. (1952), 'Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault, first Latin Emperor of Constantinople: his Life, Death and Resurrection, 1172–1225,' *Speculum*, 27, 281–322.
Wright, T. (1846), *Essays on Subjects Connected with the Literature, Popular Superstitions and History of England in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (London).
Young, S. E. (2014), *Scholarly Community at the early University of Paris: Theologians, Education and Society, 1215–1248* (New York and Cambridge).

Online sources

Many other texts in this bibliography, both primary and secondary, have been made available online in the course of writing and publication.
Augustine, *Sancti Aurelii Opera Omnia*, http://www.augustinus.it/latino
Cantus Database, for hymns and liturgical material http://cantusdatabase.org
Johannes de Garlandia, *De triumphis ecclesiae libri octo*, ed. J. Wright, (London, 1856), https://archive.org/details/johannisdegarlanoojohnuoft .
Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, http://atilf.atilf.fr/bichard

Index

This is a general index to the subject matter of the introduction and translation with their footnotes, and of course the text they interpret. On names, medieval texts create familiar inconsistencies. These are reflected in choices between English and French versions, and first or last names. The editor apologises in advance for any inconvenience.

A

Abraham, 109, 318, 319, 386, 387
Acre, 37, 67, 70, 71, 109, 131, 132, 145, 179, 199, 201, 202, 203, 357, 383, 387
Acts of the Apostles, 28, 61, 65, 303, 308
Aeneas, 130, 138, 139, 196, 197, 225, 337
Aeneid, 46, 47, 64, 109, 130, 149, 196
Africa, 99, 127, 224, 257
Agarenes (=Muslims), 319
Agen, 241
Agolandus (Pseudo-Turpin), 214, 215, 279, 280
Aigues Mortes, 38, 88, 348, 359, 365
al-Âdil Sâif al-Dîn (Saphadin), 86, 202
Alan of Lille, 45,47,49, 51, 61, 62, 68, 82, 93, 98, 161, 208, 247, 313
Alan Trenchemer, 201
Alban, St., 66, 177
Albi, 38, 49, 51, 65, 80, 82, 237, 241
Albigensian Crusade, 26, 38, 39, 49, 51, 53, 55, 64, 65, 79-82, 83, 88, 110, 245, 258, 263, 332, 388
Aleppo, 38, 90, 347, 377, 380, 381, 385
Alexander de Villa-Dei, 28
Alexander of Hales, 49, 363
Alexander the Great, 71, 197, 324, 367
Alexandria, 53, 88, 120, 226, 367, 368
Alfonso X, king of Castile, 382, 386
Alpaise de Cudot, 245
Alphonse of Poitiers, 51, 74, 87, 133-35, 147, 180, 181, 223, 283, 348, 349, 372, 373
Amator (Amador), St., 66, 285, 287
Amaury de Montfort, 26, 86, 270, 271, 332
Amphibalus, St., 66, 176
Amphion, 302, 303
Anacletus, pope, 127
Andrew of Longjumeau, 84, 384
Andrew, St., 154, 155, 304, 305, 345
Angers, 58, 298, 299
Anicetus, pope, 127
annominatio, 184
Antichrist, 84, 258, 324, 327
Antioch, 45, 66, 84, 148, 149, 253, 287, 289, 309
antonomasis, 107
Apocalypse, 38, 79, 86, 258
applanos, 169
Aristotle, 24, 57, 60, 195, 196, 293, 294
Arnaud Aimery, papal legate, 239, 245, 246
Arras, 183, 224
Arthur, duke of Britanny, 206, 207
Arthur, king, 46, 73, 117,139, 204, 205, 207, 243, 302, 303, 344, 345
Ascalon, 332, 333
Avicenna, 208, 209
Avignon, 72, 211, 282, 283, 360
Avignonet, 81, 234, 338
Aymer de Lusignan, 26
Ayyub, (Sultan al-Malik as-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub ibn al-Malik al-Kamil), 377, 378, 384

B

Babylon (=Cairo or Egypt), 99, 107, 129, 141, 201, 279, 307, 347, 375, 377, 383, 385
Bacon, Roger, 19, 21, 24, 163

Baldwin II, Latin emperor of Constantinople, 143, 335, 359
Baldwin IX of Flanders, 335
Barnabas, St., 66, 306-08
Barons' Crusade, 71, 73, 86, 99, 145, 225, 270, 332, 333, 337
Basilissa, St., 66, 287, 289
Bavius, 205
Beaucaire, 264, 265
Beauvais, 183
Béla IV, king of Hungary, 326, 337
Benedict, St., 25, 66, 121
Benedictines, 49, 52, 93, 361
Berengaria, wife of Richard I, 51, 70, 200, 201
Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint, 24, 25, 66, 254, 255
Berners, John, 23, 26, 224, 225
Bethlehem, 129, 145
Béziers, 38, 55, 65, 80, 82, 236, 237, 241, 245, 246, 258, 298, 388
Bigod, Roger, 26, 53, 221
Blanche of Castile, 51, 87, 88, 89, 91, 125, 126, 128, 132, 213, 283, 298
Blund, John, 25
Boethius, 28, 44, 48, 276, 361
Bohemia, 319
Bourges, 24, 25, 38, 133, 183, 299
Bouvines, 37, 72, 143, 167, 186, 213
Brabant (and Brabançons), 186, 187
Brendan, St., 66, 339
Brennius and Belinus, 213

C

Caesar, Julius, 115, 156, 197
Caesarea, 84, 89, 349, 351, 360, 383, 384
Cairo (see also Babylon), 99, 107, 141
Carcassonne, 38, 55, 80, 81, 82, 237, 241, 245, 246, 247, 258
Carmentis (classical), 138, 139
Castelsarrasin, 62, 311
Catesby, 333
Catherine, St., 66, 120, 121
Celestine IV, pope, 119, 136, 315
Chalus, 205
Champagne, 69, 73, 182, 183, 217, 221, 283, 332, 333, 363
Charente, 215, 229
Charlemagne, king of the Franks, emperor of the Romans, 38, 46, 73, 150, 161, 172, 179, 214, 215, 233, 244, 245, 276-283
Charles of Anjou, 68, 348, 349, 373
Christopher, St., 66, 252, 253
Cicero, 47, 50, 54, 93, 117, 122, 128, 220, 256, 257, 340
Cistercians, 24, 25, 48, 59, 241, 284, 285, 314, 333
Cleopatra, 156, 157
Clio, 49, 63, 102, 103, 186, 187, 351, 355
computus, 29, 38, 39, 275, 299
Conrad IV, king of Germany, 330, 384
Constantinople, 40, 108, 143, 150, 152, 335, 336, 385
Cotton, Robert, 31, 32, 33
Crassus 114, 196, 197, 223, 385
Crown of thorns, 87, 143, 359, 387
Crusanna (Crosantum), 142, 143
Cumans, 38, 85, 326, 327, 337
Cuthbert, St., 66, 253
Cyprus, 26, 71, 84, 88, 109, 198, 199, 201, 307, 359, 366, 367

D

Dacianus, 308, 309
Dagobert I, king of the Franks, 172, 173, 174
Damietta (Memphis), 38, 40, 53, 67, 74, 86, 88, 89, 100, 113, 121, 129, 134, 135, 223, 331, 333, 348, 366, 367,369, 371-75, 378, 379, 381, 382
David (biblical), 76, 89, 147, 387
Deidamia, 292, 293
Denis (Dionysius), St., 66, 153, 172, 173, 225, 252, 253
Denmark, Danes, 68, 133, 159, 359, 385

digressio, 50, 111
Diogenes, 197
dominical letters, 274-77
Dominicans, 24, 38, 48, 59, 60, 61, 92, 280, 310, 311, 388
Dover, 221, 233
Dunstan, St., 66, 177

E

Easter, 29, 92, 273, 275, 277, 299
Eberhard of Béthune, 28
Edmund Rich, bishop of Canterbury, 26, 38, 51, 53, 64, 66, 225, 333, 336
Egidius Parisiensis, 46, 73
Egypt, 38, 40, 66, 67, 68, 86, 89, 91, 99, 100, 107, 109, 117, 225, 226, 255, 365, 369, 371, 373, 380, 381, 385
Egyptian days, 273
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 51, 70, 201, 297, 283
elegiacs (also Elegia, translations of *elegia*), 27, 46, 111, 112, 114, 119, 121, 130, 144, 152, 157, 167, 171, 173, 183, 185, 195, 203, 206, 211, 221, 233, 234, 235, 243, 247, 259, 269, 283, 285, 303, 313, 323, 333, 335, 336, 342, 346, 357, 361, 363, 386
Eli, 76, 119, 152, 153
Eligius (Éloi), St.,
Elijah, 115, 190, 258
Eljigidei, Mongol general, 84, 359
Ember Days, 273
epacts ('moon's leaps'), 276, 277
epiteton, 184, 188, 372, 373
Erictonius/Erechthonius, 155
Essex, 22, 23, 93, 124, 125, 154, 222-223
Etna, 199
Eudes of Châteauroux, 88, 89, 347-49, 385
Evander (classical), 138, 139
Eve, 63, 154, 156, 157, 273, 341, 387
exempla, 37, 39, 48, 50, 61, 63, 65-66, 73, 106, 303, 309
Exhortatio de cruce suscipienda, 37, 41, 42, 43, 51, 67, 91, 97, 159, 169, 216, 356

F

Fakhr-al-Din, 377
Falkes de Bréauté (Fawkes), 210, 211
Ferdinand III of Castile, 90, 109, 382, 386, 387
Ferrand, count of Flanders, 167
Fitz Nicholas, Ralph, 26, 220, 221
Foix, 240, 241, 280
Fontenay, 178, 179
Fortuna (Fortune), 188, 237, 247, 317, 357, 373
Francis of Assisi, St., 25, 66, 116, 253, 299
Franciscans, 299
Frederick Barbarossa, emperor, 159
Frederick II, emperor, 38, 39, 51, 64, 65, 69, 75-77, 85, 88, 89, 99, 105, 110, 115, 118, 119, 122, 126, 137, 141, 145, 146, 148-150, 178, 213, 216, 276, 280-282, 298, 315, 316, 329, 330, 339, 350, 351, 358, 359, 383-385
Fronto (Front), St., 66, 227, 229
Fulk Bassett , 25, 27
Fulk, Bishop of Toulouse, 24, 38, 51, 59, 61, 64, 80, 284, 285, 299, 311
Furies (Erinyes), 126

G

Galen, 60, 285, 295
Galvanus, 302, 303
Ganelon (Pseudo-Turpin), 279-81
Gautier of Château-Thierry, 25
Gawain, 117, 137, 139, 205, 302, 344, 345
Geneviève, St., 66, 254, 255
Geoffrey de Mandeville, 23
Geoffrey of Monmouth, 47, 48, 73, 135, 176
Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 2

George, St., 28, 65, 66, 308-10, 411
Gerlandus Compotista, 29
Germanus, St., 66, 176, 177
Germany, Germans, 33, 68, 85, 99, 159, 179, 359, 384, 385
Gideon, 125, 138, 139, 387
Giles, St., 66, 253
Gingia, 22, 23
Goths, 121, 199, 245, 279, 361
Gregory IX, pope, 48, 58, 61, 75, 119, 126, 136, 145, 276, 315
Guala, 209
Guérin, Élie, 24, 38, 59, 248, 285, 349
Guthlac, St., 66, 177
Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, 200
Guy of Lusignan, sire de Cognac, 226

H

Haakon IV, king of Norway, 52, 133
Halys, 166, 167
Hattin, 67, 143
Hauréau, Barthelémy, 26, 28, 34, 54, 93, 174, 199, 358
heaven, 83, 105, 109, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125, 131, 133, 137, 151, 159, 171, 191, 195, 201, 205, 217, 221, 223, 237, 253, 258, 283, 287, 289, 303, 305, 309-11, 315, 327, 329, 338, 341, 347, 363, 369, 375, 376, 381, 383, 389, 391
Hector, 149, 212, 213, 221, 337
Helena, St., 66, 249-51
Henry II, king of England, 67, 148, 283
Henry III, king of England, 23, 25, 26, 37, 40, 42, 51, 52, 67-70, 72-74, 76, 85, 87, 90, 92, 125, 132, 133, 137, 146, 161, 167, 169, 185, 187-89, 204, 209-12, 214-16, 220, 221, 226, 230, 230, 232, 234, 247, 280, 299, 332, 333, 337, 339, 382, 383, 386
Henry of Hastings, 26, 53, 229, 230
Heraclius, 175
heresy, 14, 59, 61, 65, 75, 81, 83, 86, 105, 109, 111, 127, 141, 153, 176, 235, 237, 241, 254, 261, 281, 284, 289, 302, 303, 347
heretics, 37, 39, 49, 61, 76, 79, 81-83, 86, 87, 92, 111, 224, 237, 241, 243, 245, 246, 250, 255, 257, 272, 273, 281, 288, 289, 303, 305, 311, 317, 363, 389
Herleva, 11, 148, 149
Hippocrates, 285
history, 18, 34, 41, 48-50, 79, 99. 102, 110, 155, 186, 224, 271
Holy Nail (sacre clou), 359
Holy Sepulchre, 129
Homer, 45, 46, 49, 112, 113, 129, 145, 246, 268, 269, 281, 292, 355
Honoratus, St., 66, 175, 177
Honorius III, pope, 51, 59, 67, 75, 77, 145, 262, 290, 300, 329
Hospitallers, 201, 374, 375
Hugh de Lacy, 23, 26, 53, 80, 270
Hugh IV, duke of Burgundy, 224, 348, 349
Hugh IX de Lusignan, 26, 132, 133, 134, 137, 185, 199, 200
Hugh X de Lusignan, 18, 25, 26, 34, 37, 41, 48 -51, 53, 70, 74, 79, 87, 88, 99, 102, 110, 131, 132, 134, 135, 137, 142, 143, 146, 157, 167, 169, 180, 181, 185, 189, 215, 225, 233, 234, 349, 364, 372
Hugh XI de Lusignan, 88, 226
Huns, 314, 315, 121
Hydra, 83, 235, 247, 257, 327
Hyster (Danube), 53, 319, 327

I

Illyrians, 68, 384, 385
India/ Indians, 153, 155, 305,
Innocent III, pope, 67, 75, 79, 86, 137, 209, 239
Innocent IV, pope, 38, 51, 63, 64, 75-77, 88, 89, 91, 105, 118, 119, 159, 216, 277, 315, 316, 333, 339, 348, 350, 351, 385
Isaac Komnenos, 200, 201
Isabella of Angoulême, 26, 51, 74, 92, 132, 133, 135, 137, 173, 180, 187

Isidore of Seville, 48, 138, 244
Isis (Egyptian goddess), 365
Italy, Italians, 75, 99, 115, 145, 148, 149, 151, 276, 298, 316, 339, 384
Ixion, 155-57

J

Jaffa, 71, 198, 199, 201, 202, 383
James I, king of Aragon, 262, 263
James the Greater, St., 66, 304, 305, 345
James the Less, St., 66, 304, 305
Jean des Barres, 53, 219, 223, 225, 231
Jerusalem, 38, 40, 67-69, 71, 75, 76, 79, 84, 87, 91, 92, 106, 107, 114, 130, 134, 141, 145-47, 149, 150, 153, 159, 175, 178, 179, 200, 201, 219, 239, 251, 259, 277, 298, 305, 319, 320, 328, 332, 333, 337, 347, 349, 357, 363, 365, 379
Jews/ Jewish, 38, 49, 53, 79, 83, 85, 86, 92, 115, 117, 175, 249, 257-259, 305, 307, 318, 327, 328, 337, 387
Job, 72, 107
John Beleth, 49, 93, 139, 174, 175, 191
John of Brienne, 145, 332
John of Hauteville, 45
John of London, 20, 21, 37, 51, 207, 208
John, king of England, 20, 23, 37, 51, 59, 71, 72, 82, 132, 146, 161, 208-210, 247
John, St., 66, 267, 304, 305, 307
Joseph of Exeter, 45, 46
Joshua, 72, 107, 125, 147, 363
Josiah, king of Israel, 107, 363
Judas, 66, 306, 307
Jude, St., 66, 305, 306, 345
Julian of Antioch, St., 66, 287, 289
Julian of Brioude (Arvernia), St., 66, 287
Julian of le Mans, St., 59, 66, 287
Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor, 139, 174, 258, 259, 349, 351
Justinian, Eastern Roman emperor, 295
Juvenal, 48, 86, 371

K

Kentigern (Mungo), St., 66, 253
Khwarazmians, 84, 87, 106, 107, 141, 145, 150, 337, 347

L

La Forbie, 87, 106, 347, 374
La Rochelle, 231
Lamec, 155
Langton, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, 209
Lapiths, 255, 277
Lawrence, St., 66, 119, 345
Layamon, 205
Lazarus, St., 66, 175, 227, 279, 281
Le Clerc, Victor, 19, 33, 34, 54, 93
Leonard, St., 66, 253
leonines, 44, 47, 180, 276, 314, 324, 328, 340
Leopold VI, Duke of Austria, 46, 70,203, 204
Lincoln, 37, 51, 72, 172, 209, 211
liturgy, 27, 43, 48, 234, 334, 363, 386
Longchamp, Radulphus de Longo Campo, 207, 208
Longespée II, William, 26, 53, 88, 221, 372
Louis VII, king of France, 283
Louis VIII, king of France, 23, 26, 37, 38, 46, 51, 69, 72, 82, 125, 132, 133, 209, 210, 212, 213, 263, 282, 283
Louis IX, king of France, 26, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 48, 51-55, 58, 64-68, 70-76, 79, 81, 84, 85, 87-92, 99, 100, 107, 109, 112, 119, 126, 128, 132, 134, 136, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 149, 159, 172, 179, 187, 188, 191, 195, 199, 209, 210, 212, 213, 216, 223-26, 230-34, 249, 263, 276, 277, 281, 282, 283, 315, 316, 318, 331, 337, 338, 342, 347-49, 359-66, 373, 374, 377-389
Lovell, Philip, 25
Lucan, 35, 45, 47, 93, 114, 155, 156, 157, 167, 230, 231, 355, 364, 369

Lucius, king of Britons, 243
Lucius, pope, 350, 351
Luke, St., 66, 154, 155, 307, 308
Luke (of Essex), 22, 124, 125, 154
Lupus, St., 66, 177
Lyon, 38, 40, 64, 75, 76, 77, 84, 87, 108, 118, 119, 149, 159, 276, 277, 280, 315, 316, 335, 351, 358, 359

M

Majorca, 264, 265
Mameluks, 383
Mansel (Maunsell), John, 25, 27
Mansourah, 38, 40, 53, 68, 88, 89, 92, 369, 375, 377, 379, 381
Mantua, 149, 151
Margaret of Provence, 51, 339
Margaret, St., 66, 253
Marshal, Gilbert, 26
Marshal, William, 26, 37, 42, 51, 72, 209-211
Marsilius, 279, 280
Martha, St., 66, 175, 227, 279
Martin of Tours, St., 66, 177
martyrs (martyr, martyrdom), 37, 38, 48, 53, 63, 64, 66, 68, 75, 89, 91, 118, 119, 120, 127, 153, 176, 214, 225, 239, 245, 251, 252, 253, 278, 287, 289, 303-06, 308, 309, 314, 315, 333, 375, 379
Mary Magdalene, St., 66, 175, 215, 227, 279, 411
Mary of Egypt, St., 66, 255
Mategriffum (Matagriphum), Sicily, 199
Matthew of Vendôme, 27, 194
Matthew Paris, 17, 52-54, 73, 84-88, 93, 133, 189, 211, 232, 260, 261, 271, 283, 319, 323, 327, 328, 333, 337, 361, 363, 366, 374, 383
Matthew, St., 66, 305, 345
Matthias, St., 66, 306, 307
Melpomene, muse of tragedy, 46, 235
Messina, Sicily, 197, 198, 200
Michael, the Archangel, 117, 345
Minton, Thomas, 32
Mirebeau, 207, 209, 263
Moissac, 62, 311, 312
Möngke, 383
Mongols (Tartars), 53, 55, 64, 74, 79, 83-86, 92, 106, 108, 109, 115, 126, 127, 151, 179, 233, 317, 319-31, 335, 337, 359, 383, 384, 388, 389
Monségur, 79, 141, 234
moon, 122, 161, 165, 169, 209, 230, 231, 239, 243, 273, 275
Mordred, 117, 137, 139, 345
Moses, 72, 107, 117, 125, 147, 190, 291, 363, 383, 384
Muhammad-al-Nasir, 262
Muhammad, 37, 79, 86, 123, 153, 203, 365, 371, 381
Munro, Dana, 34
Muret, 38, 55, 80-82, 237, 258, 265
music, 19, 24, 27, 28, 57, 59, 60, 93, 105, 235, 277, 291, 294, 300-03, 310, 313, 389
Muslims (Islam), 37, 54, 67, 68, 79, 84, 86-88, 92, 107-10, 117, 120, 122, 126, 127, 133, 137, 143, 153, 163, 178, 202, 224, 237, 245, 262, 278, 280, 305, 319, 320, 335, 336, 339, 347, 357, 376, 385, 386, 389

N

Nazareth, 129, 145
Nero, Roman emperor, 304, 305
New Toulouse (Vilanova), 265-67
Nicasius, St., 66, 314, 315
Nicholas, St., 66, 175, 176
Nicolaa de la Haye, 26, 51, 72, 210, 211
Nile, 331, 333, 365, 371, 377
Normandy (Neustria), 58, 69, 72, 135, 148, 149, 161, 163, 183, 189, 197, 205, 206
Norway, 52, 133

O

Odysseus (Ulysses), 72, 107, 292
Olivier de Termes, 26, 88, 374, 375
Oriflamme, 233

Orléans, 58, 109, 183, 213
Orpheus, 303
Otto IV, 37, 72, 212, 213
Ovid, 27, 44, 45, 47, 54, 93, 107, 110, 112, 119, 138, 139, 196, 227, 290, 313, 322, 344, 345, 354, 355, 360, 361, 365, 368
Oxford, 18, 20, 22, 57, 64, 207, 208, 333

P

Paetow, Louis, 9, 17, 19,20, 23, 24, 26-29, 33, 34, 54, 93, 102, 199, 207, 275, 299
Pandolf, papal legate, 209
Paris, 18, 21, 22-24, 27, 33, 38-40, 48, 49, 52, 58, 62, 66, 69, 93, 94, 98, 143, 153, 167, 174, 180, 183, 187, 213, 222, 233, 234, 248, 252, 254, 255, 265, 299, 315, 358, 359, 387
Paris, of Troy, 313
Paris, *studium,* 18, 19, 21-23, 25, 35, 46, 52, 57-60, 64, 195, 208, 247, 248, 254, 255, 285, 291, 293-95, 299-301, 333, 358
Paris, Treaty of 1229, 24, 38, 59, 81, 82, 263, 283, 285, 311
Paris, Treaty of 1259, 70, 74, 161
Parma, 77, 99, 115, 358, 359
Pastoureaux, 41, 42, 89
patrons (sponsors), 23, 25, 26, 70, 73, 79, 142, 364, 376
Paul, St., 63, 65, 66, 119, 129, 188, 189, 251, 255, 299, 303, 304, 307
Peter de Rivallis, 25
Peter des Roches, 21, 25
Peter II of Aragon, 38, 51, 55, 81, 82, 240, 259, 261-63
Peter of Castelnau, 38, 50, 64, 80, 81, 239
Peter, St., 61, 63, 66, 100, 101, 129, 136, 188, 189, 227, 239, 251, 299, 303, 304, 345, 377, 385, 387
Petrus Parvus, 25, 358
Philip II (Philip Augustus), king of France, 37, 39, 46, 51, 57, 67, 69-73, 109, 132, 135, 146, 147, 161, 167, 179, 197-99, 201, 203-09, 211, 212, 233, 239, 245, 263, 282, 283, 348, 349, 387
Philip the Chancellor, 25
Picts, 155
Plassetum (Pleshey), 22, 23
Plato, 20, 169, 188, 189, 207
Poitou, 31, 40, 42, 51, 52, 69, 70-74, 125, 132, 133, 135, 137, 141, 146, 150, 169, 178, 180, 189, 206, 211, 213, 263, 372
polyptoton, 115
Pontigny, 314, 333
Priam, 117, 118
Pseudo-Turpin, 45, 48, 73, 214, 244, 278-80
Ptolemy, 122, 123
Purgatory, 207, 389

R

Raymond de Falgar, 310, 311
Raymond of Saint Gilles, 81, 148
Raymond V of Toulouse, 80, 81, 148, 212, 237, 238
Raymond VI of Toulouse, 51, 80, 81, 212, 213, 234, 238-40, 259, 260, 263-66, 282
Raymond VII of Toulouse, 24, 25, 38, 51, 58, 59, 70, 74, 79, 81, 86, 88, 92, 141, 148, 149, 213, 264-66, 280, 282, 283, 285, 300, 311, 338, 348, 349, 388
Raymond-Roger Trencavel, viscount of Béziers etc., 38, 80, 82, 246, 247, 258, 259
Raymond-Roger, count of Foix, 240
Reginald of Pons, 51, 53, 74, 188, 189
Rheims, 143, 145, 148
rhetoric, 19, 24, 27, 34, 40, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51,54, 57, 60, 83, 92, 93, 99, 106, 111, 115, 133, 155, 159, 184, 241, 256, 300, 301, 329, 335
Rhine, 179, 327
Richard de Clare, 26, 53, 140, 141
Richard I, Lionheart, king of England, 31, 37, 39, 51, 67, 69-72, 86,

92, 109, 132, 148, 163, 179, 197-207, 211-213, 219, 283, 332, 333, 357, 366, 367, 386, 387
Richard of Cornwall, 26, 73, 74, 99, 132, 141, 189, 215, 220, 221, 225-227, 332
Rivet, Antoine, 19, 33
Robert de Courçon, 57
Robert Grosseteste, 58, 163
Robert of Artois, 26, 68, 88, 226, 227, 283, 349, 369, 373, 375, 377-79
Rocamadour, 25, 59, 285
Roger II Trencavel, viscount of Béziers etc., 38, 80, 81, 237-39, 247
Roland of Cremona, 59, 60, 247, 302, 303
Roland (Pseudo-Turpin), 44, 279-81, 302, 303
Romano Bonaventura, papal legate, 25, 38, 51, 58, 59, 64, 285, 291, 295, 298-300, 363
Romulus and Remus, 138, 139, 197, 279
Roncesvalles (Pseudo-Turpin), 279, 280
Roxburghe Club, 33, 34
Royan, 167, 188
rubric, rubricator, rubrics, 28, 31, 32, 41, 42, 67, 98, 99, 104, 114, 121, 130, 135, 143, 148, 150, 152, 153, 155, 157, 159, 170-72, 174, 177, 178, 183, 190, 195, 197, 209, 211, 213, 244, 247, 250, 255, 257-59, 262-65, 268, 271, 272, 276, 283, 285, 286, 300, 303, 308-16, 319, 323, 326, 331-40, 342-46, 363
Rumour, 74, 84, 133, 169, 189, 233, 237, 239, 295, 323, 325, 335, 388
Rus, 319

S

Sainte Chapelle, 38, 40, 42, 87, 144, 172, 359, 387
Saintes, 37, 53, 65, 74, 132, 214, 215, 219, 221, 229, 232
Saladin, 67, 86, 197, 202, 357
Salamis, Cyprus, 307
Salerno, 376
Sandwich, 205, 209
Sarrepta, 191
Saturnin (Sernin), St., 66, 245
Savary de Mauléon, 23, 82, 263
Savile of Banke, Henry, 32
Schmidt, Paul Gerhardt, 35, 290
Scota, 155
Seine, 369
Seneca, 44, 48, 230, 231, 296, 297
Seventh Crusade, 40, 41, 52-54, 63, 67, 68, 87-90, 92, 112, 119, 132, 134, 148, 221, 224, 225, 347, 385, 388
Sheba, Queen of, 191
Sibylla, queen of Jerusalem, 201
Simon de Montfort, 5th earl of Leicester, 23, 26, 38, 51, 53, 55, 79, 80, 82, 86, 221, 247, 259, 264, 265, 266, 272, 276, 277, 332
Simon de Montfort, 6th earl of Leicester, 223, 247
Simon, St., 66, 306, 345
Sixth Crusade, 40, 75, 145
Solomon, 145, 159, 191, 357
Spain, Spanish, 38, 54, 68, 100, 159, 178, 179, 201, 263, 265, 383, 385, 387
St. Denis, Abbey of, 172, 173, 233, 359
Statius, 45, 47, 93, 235, 292, 293, 355
Stella maris, 28, 35, 63, 255, 269, 286
Stephen, St., 66, 251
Styx, Stygian, 113, 143, 164, 207, 257, 259, 303, 331
sun, 122, 123, 125, 127, 129, 151, 153, 161, 165, 167, 169, 209, 230, 231, 239, 243, 265, 267, 273, 299, 371, 373, 375, 379, 389, 391
Sylvester, St., 66, 152, 153, 249, 251
synchisis, 110

T

Taillebourg, 37, 74, 133, 188, 189, 214, 215
Tanais, river, 377

Tanner, Thomas, 19, 20, 23, 33, 263
Tartar, Tartars, (see also Mongols)108, 109, 317, 321, 323, 325, 327, 331, 335, 337, 359, 383, 389
tau (Greek letter), 116, 117, 191
temperies, 122, 150
Templars, 53, 88, 200, 374, 375, 378, 379
temples (biblical), 129, 143, 179, 191, 258, 259, 305, 349, 354, 355, 387
Thare, 317, 318
Theodoric, king of the Germanic Ostrogoths, 198, 199, 361
Thetis, 157, 185, 231, 292
Thibault of Champagne, 73, 332, 363
Third Crusade, 37, 39, 45, 67-71, 86, 87, 92, 109, 178, 197-99, 219, 221, 233
Thomas, St., 66, 153, 154, 304, 305
Titus, Roman emperor, 72, 107, 137, 212, 213
Toulouse, 18, 21, 23-25, 27, 28, 35, 37-40, 47, 51, 55, 57-61, 64, 69, 70, 72, 74, 79-82, 87-89, 91, 92, 94, 111, 141, 148, 149, 199, 211-13, 234, 237-239, 241, 244, 245, 247, 248, 258-67, 269, 276, 282-93, 295, 299-301, 303, 310, 311, 339, 348, 349, 388, 389
tournaments, 23, 26, 54, 92, 170, 171, 211, 349
Trivium, 24, 57, 255, 300
Troy, 117, 138, 139, 153, 205, 221, 292, 293
Troyes, 176, 299
truces, 125
Turan Shah, 377, 379, 383, 384

U

Ussher, Rev. James, 33, 263, 339
usury, 79, 83, 85, 272

V

Vandals, 121, 314, 315
Varus, Alfenus, 149, 151
Venus, 61, 62, 64, 109, 122, 127, 169, 231, 313, 343, 357
Vergil, 35, 45-49, 54, 64, 93, 103, 111, 133, 138, 149, 155, 163, 205, 230, 240, 247, 257, 277, 293, 318, 323, 355, 365
vernacular literature, 19, 39, 45, 46, 49, 58, 61, 79, 93, 184, 284, 311
versus retrogradi (palindromes), 44, 47, 183, 327, 366
Victoria, battle (1248), 358
Vincent of Beauvais, 48, 89, 110, 245, 350
Vincent, St., 66, 252, 253
Virgin Mary (see also Stella Maris), 22, 37, 38, 51, 63, 64, 91, 94, 99, 101, 105, 117, 124, 125, 127, 136, 177, 195, 255, 261, 268, 269, 285, 287, 299, 315, 328, 329, 345, 349, 351, 355, 357, 359, 373, 386, 387
Vortigern, 177, 243, 345

W

Waldemar II, king of Denmark, 133
Waldensians, 38, 82, 148, 149, 242, 244, 245
William de Say, 23, 26, 219, 224, 225, 229, 230
William des Barres, 26, 219
William III, count of Flanders, 349
William le Breton, 46, 72, 167, 205, 213, 337, 347
William of Auvergne, 25, 358
Winchester, 21, 25
Wingham, Henry, 25
Wright, Thomas, 9, 17, 33-35, 47, 54, 55, 91, 93, 97, 102, 107, 111, 124, 127, 133, 134, 139, 142, 148, 154, 167, 172, 176, 178, 183, 186, 188, 207, 211, 214, 227, 246, 263, 323, 331, 369

Z

zodiac, 37, 92, 122, 123, 150, 151, 243, 273